

Paul Magdalino

**Studies on the History
and Topography of
Byzantine Constantinople**

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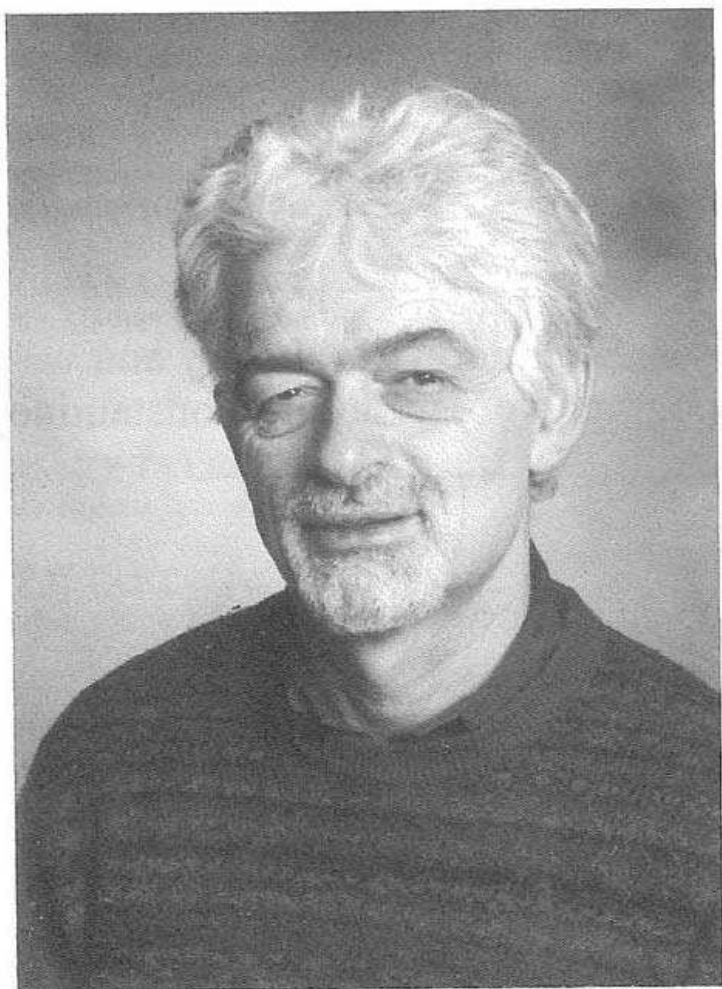
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VARIORUM COLLECTED STUDIES SERIES

Studies on the History and
Topography of Byzantine Constantinople



Paul Magdalino

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Studies on the History and
Topography of Byzantine Constantinople

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This volume contains xvi + 314 pages

INTRODUCTION

In my preface to an earlier *Variorum* volume,¹ I explained that my interest in twelfth-century Byzantium grew out of my work on Thessaly in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. My interest in medieval Constantinople was similarly kindled by studying the towns of northern Greece in the period after the Fourth Crusade, and wondering how the local capitals of the Byzantine successor states – Arta, Ioannina, Neopatras, Trikkala, and Thessalonica – related to the great imperial *megalopolis*. To what extent did their buildings imitate those of the capital? Was the relationship between ruler's court, bishop's cathedral, fortress, monastery and market at the regional level similar to that which obtained at the centre? Was it an essentially urban relationship, and were these truly urban institutions? While asking such questions, I became intrigued by two particular social and cultural units that were mainly, though by no means exclusively urban: the house and household (*oikos*) of the social elite, and the bath-house. At the same time, I developed a fascination with buildings and works of art that are known only from descriptions or epigrams. What did the lost artefacts look like, and why were the texts written?

These concerns were already well represented in the earlier *Variorum* volume. They are pursued further in the present collection, which leaves the provinces to concentrate exclusively on Constantinople, and also, while not abandoning the twelfth and later centuries, moves back to the 'Macedonian Renaissance' and earlier. Three pieces, those on the Nea Ekklesia (V, supplemented by VI) and the fountain of the Evergetis monastery (VII), pick up the theme of reconstructing lost monuments on the basis of textual evidence. Another (XII) includes the first attempt to set out and make sense of the evidence for the main palace buildings used by the Palaiologan emperors in the fourteenth century. However, neither the reconstruction of lost artefacts nor the interpretation of textual descriptions of works of art is the connecting theme of this volume. I have chosen not to reprint my studies of two literary *ekphraseis* of buildings in Constantinople: Paul the Silentiary's poem on Hagia Sophia,² and Leo Choïrosphaktes' anacreontic

¹ *Tradition and Transformation in Medieval Byzantium* (Aldershot 1991).

² P. Magdalino and R. Macrides, 'The Architecture of Ekphrasis: Construction and Context of Paul the Silentiary's Poem on Hagia Sophia', *Byzantine and Modern Greek*

verses on the palace bath constructed, or restored, by the emperor Leo VI.³ On the other hand, I have included all the articles that look at the topography and the neighbourhoods of medieval Constantinople, as well as those that consider the city's status within the Byzantine state and society. To these I have added three other pieces that have not previously appeared in their present form. Two are published here for the first time: no. IV discusses the impact on Constantinople of the reign of the iconoclast emperor Constantine V, while no. XII examines the topography of the imperial court and its ceremonial movements in the fourteenth century, as documented in the contemporary treatise on court protocol by the author known as Pseudo-Kodinos. The remaining piece (I), which is the first and longest in the collection, originated as a book published in French ten years ago under the title *Constantinople médiévale. Études sur l'évolution des structures urbaines (VIIe–XIIIe siècles)*. Substantially revised for publication in English, it defines the theme of this volume as a whole: the urban development of Constantinople in the Middle Ages.

Antiquarian interest in the early monuments of the Byzantine capital existed even before the Ottoman conquest, and scholarly study of the city's topography, pioneered by Pierre Gilles a hundred years after the conquest, has been uninterrupted since the late nineteenth century. But use of the evidence of buildings and topography to write the urban history of Constantinople has been much slower to develop. For one thing, the importance of Constantinople as the capital of a territorial empire tended to obscure its role as a discrete social and spatial unit, whose buildings and institutions were not just functions of church and state, but linked to each other as parts of an urban ensemble. For another thing, the sheer continuity of Constantinople as the embodiment of Byzantine identity and survival was not conducive to distinguishing the different phases of its evolution from the fourth to the fifteenth century. It was too easily assumed that the great fortress city of the Middle Ages, teeming with monasteries, icons and relics, was exactly the same city as the last great urban foundation of the ancient world, created by a Roman emperor newly converted to Christianity. The Byzantinist's view of Constantinople for much of the twentieth century was not essentially different from the Byzantine's, as exemplified in the tenth-century vestibule mosaic of Hagia Sophia. Here, Constantine presents his walled city to the Virgin and Christ-child, while Justinian simultaneously presents his church, recognisable by its dome. Both emperors have identical features, and both are identically attired in medieval imperial costume.

Studies, 12 (1988), 47–82.

³ P. Magdalino, 'The Bath of Leo the Wise and the "Macedonian Renaissance" Revisited: Topography, Iconography, Ceremonial and Ideology', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 42 (1988), 97–118.

The social and ideological evolution of Constantinople was studied in the 1960s and 1970s by H.-G. Beck⁴ and Gilbert Dagron,⁵ but it was not until 1985 that its physical development as a late-antique city comparable to other late-antique cities was literally put on the map, with the publication of Cyril Mango's *Le développement urbain de Constantinople (IVe–VIIe siècle)*. This book was just part of a still-ongoing project to write the history of the site from the third to the eleventh century. It has been supplemented by numerous articles, and it inspired, directly or indirectly, other initiatives, including three major conferences during the 1990s on the city of Constantinople, at Oxford in 1993, in Washington, at Dumbarton Oaks, in 1998, and at Boğaziçi University, Istanbul, in 1999. These conferences and the volumes resulting from them were major contributions to the study of Byzantine Constantinople. All three involved Cyril Mango, and each occasioned one of the pieces reprinted in this volume (nos I, II, IX).

Cyril Mango's work on Constantinople also determined the subject of no. VIII, which I contributed to a Festschrift in honour of his seventieth birthday. Most fundamentally, his *Développement urbain* set a precedent in more than one way for the French original of piece no. I. Both books originated as lectures given at the Collège de France, and both were published in the same monograph series. My work was conceived as a sequel to his analysis of the first three centuries of the city's existence. In it, I posed the question of continuity and change from the sixth to the twelfth century. Did the crisis and contraction of the seventh and eighth centuries actually mark a decisive break in the city's structures and functions? And did the four centuries of revival that followed take the urban development of Constantinople in new directions though the creation of new *oikoi*? In particular, did the dynastic regime of the Komnenoi impose a new urban configuration through the enormous privileges and resources it bestowed on the extended imperial family, allowing them to finance an ambitious programme of palace and monastery building, located mostly at the corners of the urban triangle?

Somewhat to my surprise, I found myself answering these questions in the negative. It seemed to me that the main buildings and institutions that served the medieval city were all in place by the end of the end of the sixth century; the decisive change from the late-antique city of Constantine and Theodosius occurred in the period 450–600 with the proliferation of churches which now constituted the main public spaces, not only as places of worship but also as providers of social welfare and as owners of the buildings where, by the ninth century at the latest, Constantinopolitans took their baths, had their wills and

⁴ H.-G. Beck, 'Konstantinopel. Zur Sozialgeschichte einer frühmittelalterlichen Hauptstadt', *BZ*, 58 (1965), 11–45.

⁵ Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale*; see also Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire*.

contracts drawn up by notaries, and sent their children to school. What mainly changed after 600 was that no new additions and large-scale restorations were made to the city's classical fabric of fora, colonnades and sculptured monuments, while these structures, especially the statues, increasingly became the stuff of legend and magic. At the same time, there was a shift in the city's maritime traffic away from its original port area on the Golden Horn towards the newer harbours on the Sea of Marmara – the Harbour of Theodosius and, more importantly, the Harbour of Julian, also called the Harbour of Sophia after the wife of Justin II (565–574) who had it renovated. Not until the tenth century did the Golden Horn begin to regain its importance, which is reflected in the documents of the Italian maritime republics, Venice, Pisa and Genoa, who were granted trading quarters in the area from the end of the eleventh century. I attempted to explain these changes in the maritime neighbourhoods of Constantinople, both in *Constantinople médiévale* and in a subsequent article. I also concluded that there were few other major relocations or new foundations that substantially altered the map and the fabric of the city before 1204. The evidence for the aristocratic houses and the urban monasteries that constituted the nuclei of growth and development from around 800 rarely seemed to prove that such units were created where nothing had existed before; in a striking number of cases, it was possible to infer the re-use of older structures, or to find earlier mentions of *oikoi* at apparently the same locations, albeit with different names. Viewed in this light, the building and endowment programme of the Komnenoi did not seem exceptionally drastic or innovatory; an equally if not more significant moment in terms of the re-constitution of urban *oikoi* and the revival of the Golden Horn area was the reign of Romanos I Lekapenos (920–944).

Constantinople médiévale attracted few reviews. Whether this silence was due to general acceptance or to a reluctance to engage with the book's dense French prose, an English translation seems to be in order. But in one important quarter, the book failed to convince completely. In an addendum to the third edition of his *Développement urbain*, Cyril Mango stated his disagreement on a number of points which he is reserving for more detailed discussion elsewhere.⁶ As might be expected, his objections mainly concern the degree of continuity between early Christian Constantinople and the medieval city. It remains to be seen whether the difference is one of emphasis and interpretation with regard to the same body of evidence, or whether there are other pieces of evidence to fit into the picture. In the first case, it is a question of the relative value one attaches to the continuity of early Christian institutions as opposed to the discontinuity in the tradition of monumental civic décor; it also depends on whether or not one regards the re-use of sites and buildings as more significant than their

⁶ Mango, *Développement*, 73.

conversion and reconstruction for new, mainly monastic use. A further issue of interpretation is raised by the contraction and impoverishment of the city in the 'Dark Ages'. Was this quantitative decline extensive enough to cause qualitative change? In *Constantinople médiévale* I perhaps placed too little emphasis on the severity of the crisis and the impact of the revival that the city underwent in the reign of Constantine V (741–775). No. IV in the present collection attempts, accordingly, to evaluate this moment of discontinuity whose significance may have been obscured by the *damnatio memoriae* of the controversial iconoclast emperor.

Explanations of Constantinople's urban development are fragile not only because they involve the subjective evaluation of well-known and unambiguous evidence, but also because they build on deductions that can easily be upset by the objective adduction of previously ignored or misplaced data about the topography, chronology and functions of individual sites. The proper identification of one small piece in the jigsaw can mean that whole sections of the picture that have been already assembled, or wrongly assembled, fall clearly into their proper place – sometimes in an unexpected way, and with far-reaching implications. Familiar archaeological finds take on a whole new significance when the context of their discovery is reconsidered along with a critical re-examination of equally familiar written sources. Thus Cyril Mango has plausibly identified the obelisk seen by Pierre Gilles inside the Seraglio enclosure in 1544 with the one known to have stood in the Strategion, the square near the waterfront of ancient Byzantium on the Golden Horn.⁷ This could mean that the Strategion was located 'some 300 meters east of Sirkeci station'; a location which has considerable implications for our understanding of both the commercial and the ceremonial use of this part of this city in the Middle Ages. Even more significant conclusions follow from Denis Feissel's recent identification of a fragmentary inscription on a mutilated statue base that has stood unrecognised for over sixty years in the garden of the Istanbul Archaeological Museum.⁸ By identifying the inscription with epigrams in the *Greek Anthology* and linking it to other well-known texts, Feissel has convincingly confirmed several points about the Capitol of ancient Constantinople: its situation near the modern Laleli mosque; the probable appearance of its monuments; and the fact that the 'University' of Constantinople located there was also known as the 'Mouseion' and still functioning in the reign of Tiberius II (574–582). This was one connection between texts and material remains that Mango had missed, but otherwise his knowledge of both, matured over a career of more than sixty years, is unrivalled, and will give the study he

⁷ Mango, 'The Triumphal way of Constantinople', 187–8.

⁸ Feissel, 'Le Philadelphion'.

is engaged in a comprehensiveness and a depth that will be difficult to surpass.⁹ The present volume is published with that proviso. But with that proviso, it is published in the belief that it presents a picture of the urban development of Constantinople that deserves to be better known, and updated, before it is superseded, both in its general conclusions and in its details.

The amount of recorded but neglected evidence capable of yielding new insights is limited. However, the unrecorded evidence sealed beneath the surface of modern Istanbul, and waiting to be discovered in the countryside around the city, is potentially infinite and its potential to alter existing conceptions is enormous. The chance to investigate occurs so rarely that it is all too easy to become resigned to forever being denied access to this material. Yet resignation – or complacency – is not in order, despite or indeed because of the massive modernisation of Istanbul. In the 1950s and 1960s, the building of the new municipal headquarters and the Atatürk boulevard led to significant discoveries, notably the excavation of the remains of the church of St Polyeuktos at Saraçhane.¹⁰ Since the late 1990s, a planned extension to the Four Seasons hotel has led to the excavation of substantial remains of the Great Palace south east of Hagia Sophia; they include the base of a monumental gateway in the area where Cyril Mango located the Chalke, the main Palace entrance. Since 2005, preparations for work on a Bosphoros tunnel and metro-rail link complex have uncovered the remains of the harbour of Theodosius at Yenikapı on the Sea of Marmara. The intensive rescue excavation of this huge site has already yielded spectacular finds that vastly enrich and to some extent transform our knowledge of an important sector of the Byzantine city's infrastructure. They include the remains of a massive coastal wall datable to the time of Constantine, the quayside of the port and rows of wooden posts presumably remaining from the jetties, some vaulted tombs from the middle Byzantine period, and the sunken wrecks of twenty-three Byzantine ships, some of them complete with their anchors and cargoes of amphorae. At the very least, these discoveries demonstrate that very little can be concluded from the silence of the written sources on any aspect of urban topography: in this case, the fact that no urban sea wall is attested before 439, and that no commercial activity at the Harbour of Theodosius is recorded in the medieval period. So far, moreover, the few burials found at the excavations

⁹ Other revisionist studies by Mango are cited in the bibliography; see also the following recent articles: 'Constantinople as Theotokoupolis', in Vassilaki, ed., *Mother of God.*, 17–25; 'Le mystère de la XIVe région de Constantinople', *TM*, 14 (2002), 449–55; 'Septime Sévère et Byzance', *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (2003), 593–608.

¹⁰ R.M. Harrison, J. Hayes et al., *Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul*, 2 vols (Princeton 1986, 1992).

are not sufficient to confirm my hypothesis that the harbour area was a major cemetery in the twelfth century.

At the same time, archaeological work in the suburbs and the surroundings of Istanbul is throwing light not only on the hinterland of Byzantine Constantinople but also, by extension, on the city itself. Investigation of Byzantine substructures at Küçükyalı,¹¹ and field surveys of church remains on the southern coast of the Sea of Marmara, are revealing that the network of monasteries associated with the capital on the Asiatic side was if anything even more important than the written sources suggest. An earlier field survey of roads and bridges in Bithynia mapped the network of communication routes from the capital to its eastern provinces.¹² On the European side, a project to survey the Long Walls of Thrace, the city's outer line of defence running from the Sea of Marmara to the Black Sea some 90 km to the west, has turned into a survey of Constantinople's elaborate water-supply system, one of the greatest engineering projects of the ancient world. Mapping the catchment areas and aqueduct networks outside the city necessarily leads to a very precise projection of the water channels within its walls, according the gradients and contours involved, and this in turn has implications for the location of cisterns and residential areas.

The historian of Byzantine Constantinople is working with a limited but far from finite body of evidence. He can expect what he writes to have a short shelf life, and that is as it should be. The important thing is to keep the shelf well stocked, and with more than one brand.

PAUL MAGDALINO

Istanbul
May 2007

¹¹ A. Ricci, 'Palazzo o monastero, Islam o Occidente: il complesso mediobizantino a Küçükyalı (Istanbul)', *III Congresso nazionale di archeologia medievale* (Florence 2003), 515–19.

¹² J. Lefort, 'Les grandes routes médiévales', in B. Geyer and J. Lefort (eds), *La Bithynie au Moyen Âge*, *Réalités Byzantines* 9 (Paris 2003), 461–72.

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Lyn Rodley for agreeing to let me include our joint article (VII) in this collection.

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The articles in this volume, as in all others in the Variorum Collected Studies Series, have not been given a new, continuous pagination. In order to avoid confusion, and to facilitate their use where these same studies have been referred to elsewhere, the original pagination has been maintained wherever possible.

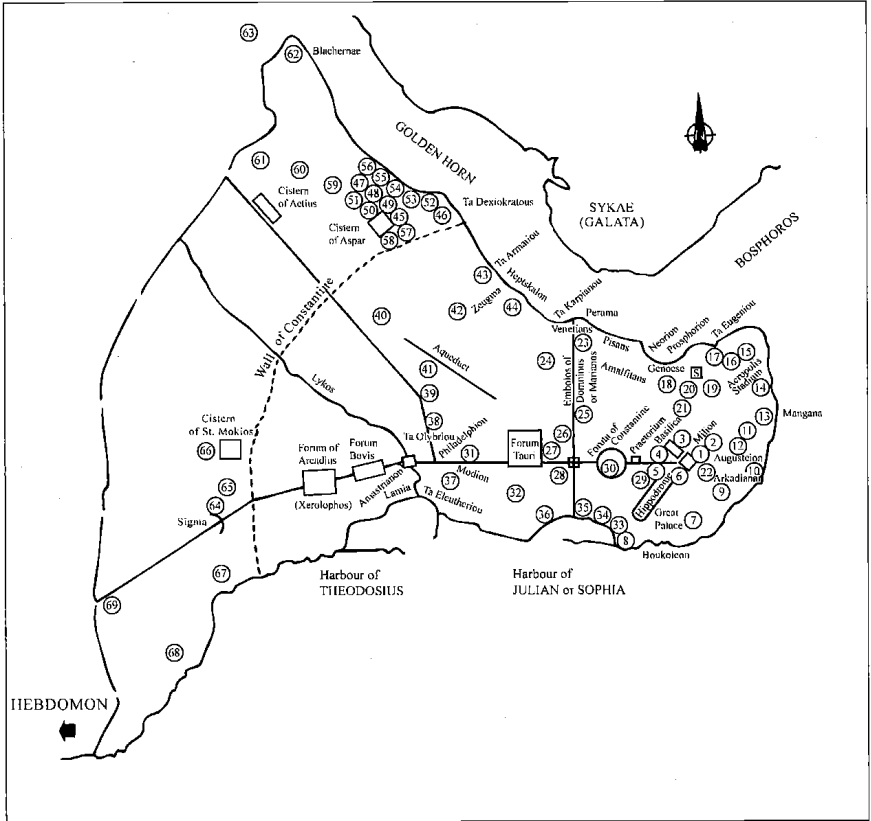
Each article has been given a Roman number in order of appearance, as listed in the Contents. This number is repeated on each page and is quoted in the index entries.

I

MEDIEVAL CONSTANTINOPLE

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MEDIEVAL CONSTANTINOPLE
Districts and Religious Sites

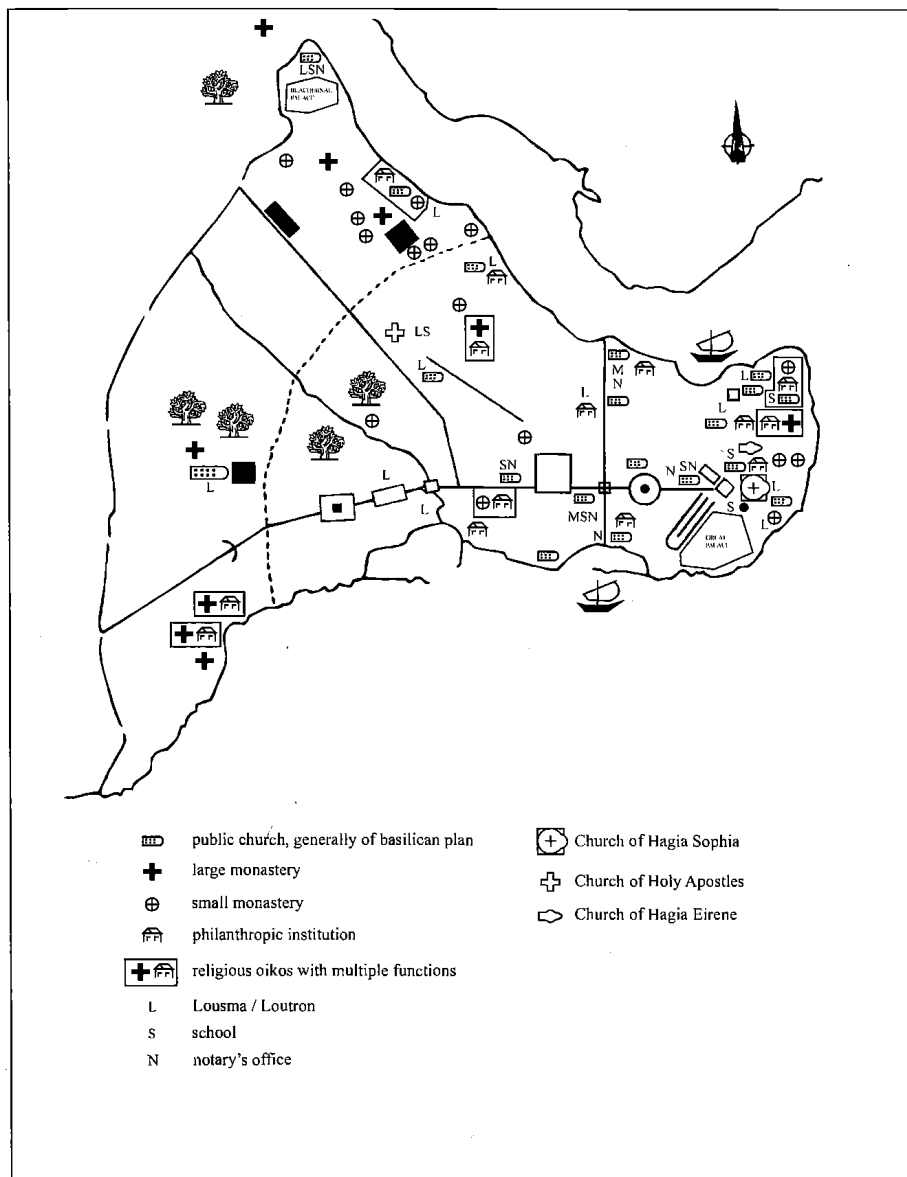
MAP LEGEND

CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES

1. Hagia Sophia
2. Hagia Eirene
3. Chalkoprateia (churches of the Theotokos, St James, and Christ Antiphonetes)
4. St Theodore ta Sphorakiou
5. St John to Diippion
6. Christ of the Chalke
7. Nea Ekklesia
8. SS Sergios and Bacchus
9. Monastery of the Hodegoi
10. St Lazaros
11. Monastery of the Theotokos Panachrantos

12. Monastery of the Theotokos Pantanassa
13. Oikos of the Mangana, monastery of St George
14. St Menas
15. The Orphanage (church of SS. Peter and Paul, monastery of St Nicholas of the Iberians)
16. St Demetrios at the Acropolis
17. Theotokos ta Eugeniou
18. Monastery of the Ex-logothete
19. St Philemon
20. St Andrew at the Strategion
21. Theotokos ta Ourbikiou
22. Churches of the Archangels ta Tzerou/ ta Sinatoros
23. Hagia Eirene in Perama
24. St John Prodromos at Oxeia
25. St Anastasia, monastery of the Anastasis
26. St Plato
27. St Theodore ta Karbounaria
28. Forty Martyrs
29. St Euphemia of the Hippodrome
30. Theotokos at the Forum
31. Theotokos at the Diakonissa
32. St Agathonikos
33. Archangel Michael Ta Adda
34. St Thekla
35. Ta Narsou (the church of St Panteleimon and the church of SS Probos, Tarachos and Andronikos)
36. St Thomas ta Amantiou
37. Myrelaion (Bodrum Camii)
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54. Prophet Elijah
55. Prophet Isaiah

56. St Laurence
57. Monastery of Christ Philanthropos
58. Monastery of the Theotokos Kecharitomene
59. Monastery of the Theotokos Pammakaristos (Fetiye Camii)
60. Monastery of St John Prodromos at Petra
61. Monastery of Christ at the Chora (Kariye Camii)
62. Theotokos of the Blachernai
63. Monastery of SS Cosmas and Damian, or Kosmidion
64. Theotokos at the Sigma
65. St Luke
66. St Mokios
67. Monastery of the Theotokos Peribleptos (Sulu Manastir)
68. Monastery of Stoudios (Imrahor Camii)
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70. Church of ta Kyrou (Kalendarhane Camii)
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MEDIEVAL CONSTANTINOPLE

Location of *loutra/lousmata* (L), schools (S), notarial offices (N), *mitata*

Introduction

There are few signs of the Byzantines' 'Queen City' in modern day Istanbul.¹ Apart from a few large buildings, more ancient than medieval, the average tourist sees very little of the Byzantine past. The buildings of the Byzantine city are easy to list but often quite difficult to find. Of hundreds of churches, only thirty or so have survived through conversion into mosques: the palaces, houses and public buildings have almost totally disappeared. From time to time archaeological digs make sensational discoveries, but opportunities are rare.

The sorry fate of Byzantine Constantinople is not unique, and for the determined optimist there is the consolation that the modern city has preserved at least enough to reveal the outline of the development of the medieval city. The Byzantine buildings which do survive in Istanbul fall into two broad categories. Firstly, there are the great buildings of the early Middle Ages relating to the basic functions of city life: the water supply, defence, public worship and imperial government. To symbolise their city, the Byzantines themselves chose two structures, which are still among the most prominent landmarks of Istanbul: the fortified city wall and the church of Hagia Sophia. Both appear in the ninth or tenth-century mosaic in the vestibule of Hagia Sophia which depicts the dedication of the city to the 'Wisdom of God': on one side Justinian presents his church to the enthroned Virgin and infant Christ, while on the other, Constantine offers up a square fortress within which it is possible to make out two houses.² These two elements of fortress and church reappear, integrated this time, in the manuscript miniatures of *Vaticanus gr.* 1851, which illuminate verses apparently composed in 1179 to celebrate the arrival of Agnes of France for her betrothal to Alexios II Komnenos.³ The miniature on folio 2^r depicts Constantinople in the form of a large domed church – presumably Hagia Sophia – encircled by a wall with eleven visible towers and a large central

¹ For a general overview, Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, and Mathews, *The Byzantine Churches of Istanbul*.

² Good analysis by G. Prinzing, 'Das Bild Justinians I. in der Überlieferung der Byzantiner vom 7. bis 15. Jahrhundert', *Fontes Minores* 7 (1986), pp. 6–14.

³ See I. Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts* (Leiden 1976), pp. 210–30; for the betrothal, cf. M. Jeffreys, 'The Vernacular εἰσιτήριοι for Agnes of France', *Byzantine Papers*, *Byzantina Australiensia* 1 (Canberra 1981), pp. 101–15.

gate, all surrounded by water.⁴ Even though this is a fairly conventional medieval representation of a city,⁵ it depicts precisely those two structures which still evoke for us the grandeur of Byzantine Constantinople.

Besides these structures and various other buildings of much the same date (the scanty remains of the Hippodrome and Great Palace, the covered and open air water cisterns, the churches of Stoudios, St Polyeuktos, Hagia Eirene and SS Sergios and Bacchos), there are a dozen fairly modest former monastic churches, from the ninth to the fourteenth centuries, which survive in the northern and western sections of the area *intra muros*. As we shall see, these churches are fairly representative of the city's development from the ninth century onwards. It was the 'houses' – the *oikoi* of the powerful and, above all, the monasteries – that attracted cultural and financial investment during the middle and late period. In the course of this urban development it is possible to see a slow shift in the city's centre of gravity towards the north-west. Overall, these chance survivals do seem to give a fairly accurate impression of the Byzantine city. The Ottoman city also reproduced many of the features of its predecessor, either through direct borrowings or via an Islamic urban model, which, like the Byzantine version, had its roots in the Greco-Roman civilisation of the Near East. It is also worth remembering that Hagia Sophia itself was used as a model for the great Ottoman mosques.

Nevertheless, appearances can be deceptive and it is easy to be taken in by facile orientalism. One should be careful of seeing the domed Byzantine churches as a prelude to Pierre Loti's 'great Stamboul of mosques and dreams' where 'countless generations of Byzantine emperors and magnificent caliphs worked for centuries to put together...this fairy-tale pageant'.⁶ The surviving Byzantine buildings have been stripped of their original context, a context much less oriental than that which replaced it. What is missing today

⁴ Spatharakis, p. 227; colour reproduction of the miniature in *Quinto centenario della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1475–1975, Catalogo della mostra* (Rome 1975), p. 178. The spacing of the towers suggests that the viewer is meant to imagine the existence of a twelfth, concealed by the dome of the church.

⁵ See C. Frugoni, *A Distant City: Images of Urban Experience in the Medieval World* (Princeton 1991), pp. 3–29.

⁶ The quotations are from P. Loti, *Les désenchantées* (Paris 1906), p. 94, p. 148, but the book is full of similarly suggestive phrases, as are his novels *Aziyade* and *Fantôme d'Orient*. The comparison between Byzantine churches and Ottoman mosques was made, with reference to Loti, by Abbé Marin in his *Les moines de Constantinople depuis la fondation de la ville jusqu'à la mort de Photius (330–898)* (Paris 1897), p. 82: 'Such is Stamboul with its innumerable mosques: such was the incomparable finery of the capital of the Byzantine emperors with its 217 churches and 175 monasteries'. This author exemplifies a way of thinking which was no doubt shared by other contemporaries and is, perhaps, still influential today.

is the Roman stamp that marked Constantinople from the beginning. Roman influence was present not only in the solid mass of brick and marble masonry, the triumphal columns and arches, the clusters of bronze statues, and the forums and porticoes (*emboloi*),⁷ but also in the great public churches, built between the fourth and sixth centuries, which must, despite restorations, have retained much of their original appearance. Their central features, striking in the middle ages but imperceptible today, were their basilican plan – the norm in the early period, as the Byzantines of the tenth century were well aware⁸ – and the profusion of annexes, the atria, colonnades and propylaea which surrounded the sites of Christian worship and linked them harmoniously with the porticoes of the streets and squares.⁹ This is perhaps a banal observation, but worth making in the light of recent studies which have tended to stress the clash between classical urban life and medieval Christianity.¹⁰ This confrontation was real and did bring about change, but, however clear-cut it may have been in ideology and rhetoric, and however strongly it may have been felt by the pagan contemporaries of Theodosius or Justinian, the tension was not present in the Byzantine Middle Ages simply because there were no longer any pagan temples, baths or theatres. In the eyes of the average or educated Byzantine of the ninth century, the triumphal columns and the churches of the martyrs were both equally part of a common antiquity dating back to Constantine. We will come back to this, but for the moment I want to bear in mind that our Byzantine in the street would not have been aware of any break in, or realignment of, the urban environment around him. It could be said that the New Rome, like Old Rome, became medieval while remaining essentially Roman. It is likely that a Latin pilgrim who already knew the City of the Apostles would have felt

⁷ On these ‘classical features’ of the urban fabric, see now Bauer, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal*, Bassett, *Urban Image*; M. Mango, ‘The Porticoed Street at Constantinople’, in Necipoğlu (ed.), *Byzantine Constantinople*, pp. 29–51.

⁸ The ninth-century account of the construction of Hagia Sophia correctly refers to the pre-Justinianic church as basilican (δρομικήν): *Scriptores*, ed. Preger, p. 74, and cf. C. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture* (New York 1976), p. 98. For other basilicas, see Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *DAI*, §29/279–80, pp. 138–9 (church of the Virgin at the Chalkoprateia); Mango, *Développement*, p. 35 (St Mokios); idem, ‘Épigrammes honorifiques, statues et portraits à Byzance’, in *Αφιέρωμα στον Νίκο Σβορώνο* (Rethymno 1986), I, p. 28 (St Theodore *ta Sphorakion*); idem, ‘On the History of the *Templon* and the Martyrion of St Artemios at Constantinople’, *Zograf* 10 (1979), p. 3 (St John Prodromos in Oxeia) [these two articles are reprinted in Mango, *Studies on Constantinople*].

⁹ See, for example, Procopius, *De aedificiis*, I, p. 4; p. 26; V, p. 6; pp. 23–5; *De cer.*, ed. Reiske, p. 561.

¹⁰ As well as the conclusions in Mango’s *Développement*, see particularly Dagron, ‘Le christianisme dans la ville byzantine’, and idem, ‘Constantinople. Les sanctuaires et l’organisation de la vie religieuse’.

reasonably at home visiting the New Jerusalem on the Bosphoros; certainly travellers' accounts give the impression that it was not the physical appearance of the city itself which disgusted them. Each of the two Romes featured in the medieval imagination as Holy Cities, rich in marvels, but inhabited by people who were wholly unworthy.¹¹

Nevertheless, we cannot get a real impression of medieval Constantinople simply by looking at the surviving buildings. The physical remains can only contribute to our understanding of the city's development as points of reference for a picture of the city that has to be drawn from written sources. These are problematic in their own way, and although it is not necessary to discuss the problems at length here, it is important to recall that 'Byzantine literature was, to a great extent, written in Constantinople to be read in Constantinople'.¹² Precisely because they emanate directly from the urban environment, they do not shed objective light on it. Very few texts are concerned with topographical detail, and even fewer give an overview of the city as a whole. For the fifth century, there is one extremely valuable document, the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*, which gives a very precise and detailed description of the city at the height of its expansion under the Theodosian dynasty (379–450).¹³ There is nothing like this for the Middle Ages. Only two groups of sources give fairly systematic information about routes and locations. Firstly, there is a series of tenth-century dossiers or official Byzantine collections, which will be discussed below; secondly, there are the accounts of foreign visitors: the Arabs, notably Hārūn ibn Yahya (late ninth-early tenth century);¹⁴ an eleventh-century English pilgrim (the 'Mercati Anonymus');¹⁵ Antony of Novgorod, writing

¹¹ For the accounts of western travellers to Constantinople, see H. Szklenar, *Studien zum Bild des Orients in vorhöfischen deutschen Epen* (Göttingen 1966) pp. 114–50, and more recently, J.P.A. van der Vin, *Travellers to Greece and Constantinople. Ancient Monuments and Old Traditions in Medieval Travellers' Tales*, I–II, Publication de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul 49 (Istanbul 1980); R. Macrides, 'Constantinople: the crusaders' gaze', in Macrides (ed.), *Travel in the Byzantine World*, pp. 193–212; M. Angold, 'The decline of Byzantium seen through the eyes of western travellers', *ibid.*, pp. 213–32. For medieval Rome, see R. Krautheimer, *Rome, Profile of a City, 312–1300* (Princeton 1980). Note that Liudprand of Cremona lumped together Greeks and Romans: *Relatio de legatione constantinopolitana*, § 12, ed. Chiesa.

¹² Mango, *Développement*, p. 8.

¹³ *Not. CP.*; cf. Berger, 'Regionen und Straßen'.

¹⁴ English translation by A.A. Vasiliev 'Harun-ibn-Yahya and his description of Constantinople', *Seminarium Kondakovium* 5 (1932), 149–63; French translation by M. Izeddin, 'Un prisonnier Arabe à Byzance au IX^e siècle: Hârôûn-ibn-Yahya', *Revue des Études islamiques* (1941–6), 41–62. Cf. A. Berger, 'Sightseeing in Constantinople: Arab travellers, c. 900–1300', in Macrides (ed.), *Travel in the Byzantine World*, 179–91.

¹⁵ Annotated edition by K. Ciggaar, 'Une description de Constantinople'.

just before 1204;¹⁶ and other Russian pilgrims from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.¹⁷ The ‘archaeological’ information given by all these texts has been studied thoroughly, but not enough attention has been given to the texts for their own sake – how they were compiled and the phenomenon they represent. It is worth examining the chronological spread of these texts in relation to their differences in form, content and provenance. On the one hand, they faithfully and unselfconsciously reflect the environment which produced them; on the other, they intentionally provide a skilfully, if not always explicitly, biased interpretation of both past and present, which can also be very illuminating.

The tenth-century collections

To a great extent the whole study of the medieval City rests on the tenth-century texts which will be referred to here as dossiers or collections. Given the rarity of overviews of the city, the concentration of sources in this period deserves more thorough attention than it has received. To start with, these texts should be examined as a group to see what they have in common despite their range of genres and purposes. There are six works: the *Book of the Eparch*, the *Ekphrasis* of Constantine of Rhodes, the *Typikon of the Great Church* with the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*, the *Book of Ceremonies*, and the version of the *Patria of Constantinople* which was drawn up c. 990.¹⁸ Each of these books examines a different aspect of the City. The *Book of the Eparch*, promulgated in 912 by the Emperor Leo VI, sets out in some detail the rules and regulations of the principal trades. The *Ekphrasis* of Constantine of Rhodes provides a roll-call of the monumental columns in Constantinople’s great squares before describing the church of the Holy Apostles in detail. The *Typikon* is a calendar of liturgical feasts which also gives particulars of the sites of commemoration, whether at Hagia Sophia or in another church, and the processional stations on the routes followed by the Hagia Sophia clergy when the feasts took them to more distant venues.¹⁹ The *Synaxarion*, the Greek equivalent of a martyrology, adds short hagiographical notes to the calendar of saints’ days. Although the last two texts

¹⁶ Until the publication of G. Majeska’s edition of the text and translation, consult the edition by C. Loparev, *PPS* 51, (St. Petersburg 1899) and the translation into French by B. de Khitrowo, *Itinéraires russes en Orient*, pp. 87–111, made from an earlier edition.

¹⁷ Ed. and tr. Majeska, *Russian Travelers*.

¹⁸ Constantine of Rhodes, *Ekphrasis*, ed. E. Legrand, ‘Description des œuvres d’art et de l’église des Saints-Apôtres à Constantinople’, *RÉG*, p. 9 (1896), pp. 32–63. See the list of abbreviations for editions of the other texts.

¹⁹ For more on this, see J.F. Baldwin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship. The Origins, Development and Meaning of Stational Liturgy*, OCA 228 (Rome 1987).

were certainly based on earlier tradition, version H (the copy in *Codex* 40 of the monastery of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem) marks an important development. This tenth-century manuscript contains, along with the *Τυπικόν*, a version of the *Synaxarion* composed at some point between 950 and 959, accompanied by a dedication addressed to the emperor who commissioned the work and who must be Constantine VII.²⁰ The *Book of Ceremonies* was also commissioned by the same emperor, even though the sole surviving complete copy, in the Leipzig *Codex* (Univ. Lib. 28), was probably completed between 963 and 969 under the aegis of Basil the *parakoimomenos*.²¹ A large and to some extent systematic collection, it gives minutiae of imperial ceremonies plus a rag-bag of various inventories, and Philotheos' treatise on the seating order at imperial banquets. The *Book of Ceremonies* is the most important source we have for the layout of the Imperial Palace, but it does occasionally provide useful information about monuments and itineraries beyond the palace. The *Patria* collection gives only indirect topographical references, and these come from a late recension. Its purpose was to explain the origins of the City and its buildings, combining historical fact, legend and etymology.²²

It is not purely by chance that all these collections date from the tenth century. Like many other contemporary works, they are typical of the mindset of their era: examples of what has been variously described as 'encyclopaedism' (Paul Lemerle);²³ an attempt at codification;²⁴ a genre of 'teaching aid' style dossiers

²⁰ *Syn. CP.*, col. XIII–XIV: the emperor in question spent his time πᾶσαν βίβλον ἀνελίττειν τε καὶ ἐκμελετᾶν καὶ τὰς παλαιὰς ἀναλέγεσθαι ιστορίας. Cf. I. Ševčenko, 'Re-reading Constantine Porphyrogenitus', p. 188, and A. Luzzi, 'Note sulla recensione del Sinassario di Costantinopoli patrocinata da Costantino VII Porfirogenito', *RStB* n.s. p. 26 (1989), pp. 139–86.

²¹ See J.F. Haldon ed., *Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Three Treatises on Imperial Military Expeditions*, *CFHB* 28 (Vienna 1990), pp. 36–7, n. 6, n. 8; Ševčenko, 'Re-reading Constantine Porphyrogenitus', p. 185 n. 47. For Basil the *parakoimomenos* see W.G. Brokkaar, 'Basil Lecapenus', *Studia Byzantina et Neobellenica Neerlandica* (Leiden 1972), pp. 199–234, and L. Bouras, 'Ο βασιλεὺς Λεκαπηνὸς παρααγγελιοδότης ἔργων τέχνης, in *Κωνσταντῖνος Ζ' Πορφυρογέννητος καὶ ἡ ἐποχὴ του* (Athens 1989), pp. 397–434, and below, pp. 42–7, 50, 70, 74.

²² Besides Berger, *Untersuchungen*, see G. Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire*.

²³ Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme*, pp. 267–300.

²⁴ P. Pieler, 'Ἀνακάθαρσις τῶν παλαιῶν νόμων und makedonische Renaissance', *Subseciva Groningana* 3 (1989), pp. 61–77; Ἡ συμβολὴ τοῦ Κωνσταντῖνου Πορφυρογεννήτου στη νομικὴ φιλολογία, in *Κωνσταντῖνος Ζ' Πορφυρογέννητος*, 79–86; P. Magdalino, 'The Non-Judicial Legislation of the Emperor Leo VI', *Analecta Athenensia ad ius byzantinum spectantia*, I, ed. Sp. Troianos, *Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte, Athener Reihe* (Athens 1998), pp. 169–82.

(Paul Speck),²⁵ or part of a literary tradition of anthology (Paolo Odorico).²⁶ These texts are the product of an official culture of collecting and copying documents which was vigorously encouraged by Leo VI and Constantine VII. Of the collections relevant to Constantinople, only the *Patria* has no clear link with the imperial initiative; indeed, it is subtly subversive of the official image of imperial power.²⁷ All the same, it is the *Patria* which fills in the gaps left by the other texts by adding an 'historical' explanation of the city's imperial, sacred and economic topography. In general, what is striking is the way in which the texts complement each other, encompassing urban time as well as urban space, recording the annual cycle of imperial and Christian events as well as the bygone centuries since the city's foundation by Constantine, not to mention 'Byzas and Antes'. All the collections, apart from the *Book of the Eparch*, have a very marked sense of the past. Constantine of Rhodes conjures up images of the great emperors of the past, their triumphs and building campaigns, focusing particularly on Justinian. The emperors and patriarchs of pious memory are remembered alongside the saints in the *Typikon* and the *Synaxarion* which also record the calamities that struck Constantinople throughout the centuries – earthquakes, the terrible fire of 465, the Avar and Arab attacks and the defeat of Nikephoros I at the hands of the Bulgars. The *Book of Ceremonies* and *Patria* go even further in their quest for the past, insofar as they reveal, fairly clearly, layers of documentation dating back to the sixth century.

As is well known, this concern with the past is characteristic of works produced by the Byzantine 'Renaissance' of the ninth and tenth centuries.²⁸ It is particularly marked in the *Basilica* and the *Novels* of Leo VI, and in the *De thematibus* and *De administrando imperio* of Constantine Porphyrogenetos. Testimony to the great efforts that were made to bridge the cultural gap of the 'dark ages' which separated the current impoverished and weakened Empire and the great Empire of yesteryear,²⁹ these works demonstrate a return to a traditional identity – a faithful recreation and complete renewal which would

²⁵ See P. Speck et al., *Varia* III (Bonn 1991), 267, pp. 269–306, pp. 326–7.

²⁶ P. Odorico, 'La cultura della Συλλογή. 1) Il cosiddetto enciclopedismo bizantino. 2) Le tavole de sapere di Giovanni Damasceno', *BZ*, 83 (1990), pp. 1–21.

²⁷ Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire*, pp. 93–7, p. 123, pp. 170–80, pp. 309–14, pp. 315–23.

²⁸ See P. Magdalino, 'The Distance of the Past in Early Medieval Byzantium (7th–10th centuries)', *Ideologie e pratiche del reimpiego nell'alto medioevo* [= *Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo*, 46 (1999)], pp. 115–46.

²⁹ Paul Speck has highlighted the role of an 'inferiority complex' in this desire to return to yesteryear: see in particular P. Speck 'Iconoclasmus und die Anfänge der makedonischen Renaissance', in R-J Lillie and P. Speck, *Varia* I (Bonn 1984), pp. 175–210, and idem, 'Weitere Überlegungen und Untersuchungen über die Ursprünge der byzantinischen Renaissance', *Varia* II (Bonn 1987) pp. 253–83 [= 'Further Reflections on the Origins of the Byzantine Renaissance', in

erase all memory of decline. While bemoaning the losses the Empire had suffered, they also created an image of fundamental continuity. To believe *De ceremoniis* and the *Patria*, there was no great breach between Antiquity and the Middle Ages, only the 'Isaurian madness' which led the iconoclast emperors to destroy public monuments³⁰ and convert churches into workshops and warehouses.³¹ Happily disregarding the building campaigns of Leo III and Constantine V,³² if not those of their circle,³³ the tenth-century texts gloss

Speck, *Understanding Byzantium*, pp. 179–204]. Constantine VII was perfectly aware of the reduced state of the Empire: see *De thematibus*, ed. A. Pertusi, *Studi e Testi* 160 (Rome 1952), p. 60.

³⁰ *Patria*, II, 90; III, 31, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, p. 226; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 282–4

³¹ Preger, *Scriptores*, p. 148 (church of St John Prodromos *ta Probou*), p. 217 (St Euphemia), p. 258 (St Andrew); see Berger, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 79–80, pp. 558–9, p. 745, p. 578. Berger's scepticism about this information is well-founded; as he observes, however, the notice concerning the church of St Euphemia is echoed in Theophanes, ed. de Boor, p. 439, and in the saint's hagiography (ed. F. Halkin, *Euphémie de Chalcedoine* [Brussels 1965], pp. 88–9, p. 136, pp. 176–8), where Leo III is blamed for the profanation of her church. Also note that all three churches were in the same vicinity, right by the port of Julian, the city's principal harbour at the time, where it is likely that the emperors needed to find space especially during the urban reconstruction programme undertaken by Constantine V in 768: Theophanes, p. 440; Nicephorus, ed. Mango, p. 140, p. 160. The accusations begin quite early: even though it avoided mentioning Constantine V by name out of respect for the ruling dynasty, the Council of 787 recalled his 'secularisation of holy churches, his profane conversions of holy monasteries into worldly dwellings' (Mansi, XIII, col. 329: τῶν ἁγίων ναῶν τὰς κοινώσεις, τῶν εὐαγῶν μοναστηρίων τὰς βεβήλους μεταποιήσεις εἰς κοσμικὰ καταγώγια). See also below, no. IV.

³² This is in contrast to the iconodule propaganda of the previous century which shows, albeit grudgingly, that building work had not stopped. Besides the entries in Theophanes and Nikephoros cited above, see the acts of the 787 council which attacked the iconoclast bishops for converting the gold from sacred vessels and mosaics 'into common houses and baths and theatres' (Mansi, XIII, col. 333: εἰς κοινοὺς οἴκους καὶ λουτρά καὶ θεάτρα); see also Nikephoros' second discourse against the iconoclasts, where the patriarch is scandalised by the fact that churches founded under Constantine V had been consecrated without saints' relics (PG 100, col. 341–44, French tr. by M.-J. Mondzain-Baudinet [Paris 1989], pp. 158–9). The ninth-century enkomion of St Theodore of Sykeon by the skeuophylax Nikephoros says that Constantine V was forced to rebuild the saint's church at the Deuteron in Constantinople after he burned it down in a fit of jealousy: ed. C. Kirch, *An. Boll.* 20 (1901), pp. 270–71; on the church itself, see Janin, *Églises*, 77, and the differing opinions of M. Kaplan and M.-F. Auzépy in *Les saints et leur sanctuaire à Byzance*, ed. C. Jolivet-Lévy, M. Kaplan and J.-P. Sodini (Paris 1994), p. 76, pp. 126–7. Even though there may be a strong element of legend in this account, it is still unclear why an orthodox cleric writing in the tenth century, probably to please patriarch Stephen, would have knowingly invented the foundation of a church by Constantine V. The tradition which dates the monastery τῶν Ὁδηγῶν back to a donation by the same emperor should also be taken seriously: ed. and tr. Angelidi, 'Un texte patriographique et édifiant', pp. 140–7. Finally, the original church of the Pharos in the Great Palace might have been constructed by Constantine V: see Magdalino, 'L'église du Phare'.

³³ The *Patria* says, no doubt falsely, that the wife of Leo III and the contemporary *magistros* Niketas Xylinites founded convents: ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, p. 251, p. 276; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, p. 524, pp. 648–9.

over the break between the orthodox rulers Justinian II (685–695, 705–711) and Eirene (784–802) and fail to notice the slightest difference in quality and function between the old and the new.

Byzantinists have learned to be wary of their sources and especially anything written after the collapse and defeat of iconoclasm. However, despite the degree of make-believe in the tenth-century reconstruction of the past, it is worth asking if all the smoke and mirrors completely distort reality. I do not think they do, and I will try to show why. I would like to propose that Constantinople was still, at the beginning of the tenth century, the early Christian city it had become in the fifth and especially the sixth centuries, and that the changes which took place in-between should be seen in the context of a solid line of continuity between the two periods. Essentially, there was more stability than upheaval

Chapter 1

The Survival of the Early Christian *Megalopolis*

Crisis

First, the changes. In the tenth century the dead were buried within the city walls, something which would have been unthinkable three centuries earlier.¹ People no longer went to the theatre or the great baths – the Zeuxippos, the Constantinianae, and the Arcadianae were all in ruins.² The Roman amphitheatre, the Kynegion, had become a place of execution, and some of the great squares were now used as livestock markets.³ The true origins of the monumental sculptures around the city were largely unknown and they were regarded with superstitious mistrust.⁴ The Praetorian Prefecture of the East was long-gone and its judicial and fiscal roles had been transferred to offices at the edge of the Great Palace.⁵ Much of the ceremonial role of the two great circus factions also took place within the confines of the palace, where Justinian II had created reception areas for the Blues and the Greens.⁶ The professors of rhetoric, judges and lawyers no longer sat in the Imperial Basilica opposite

¹ Mango, *Développement*, pp. 57–8; Dagron, ‘Le christianisme dans la ville byzantine’, pp. 11–19; idem, ‘À propos des inhumations’.

² See C. Mango, ‘Daily Life in Byzantium’, *JÖB* 31/1 (1981), pp. 337–53, reprinted in idem, *Byzantium and its Image*.

³ Mango, *Développement*, p. 57; but see below pp. 26–7 for the suggestion that the market functions of the squares date from the fourth and fifth centuries.

⁴ The standard work is still C. Mango, ‘Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder’, reprinted in *Byzantium and its Image*; see also Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire*, pp. 127–59; Cameron and Herrin, *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century*; James, ‘Pagan Statues’.

⁵ For the location of the Praetorian Prefecture on the Acropolis to the north of Hagia Eirene see Mango, *Studies on Constantinople*, Addenda, pp. 1–3; for the dissolution of the prefecture after 629, see now Brandes, *Finanzverwaltung in Krisenzeiten*, pp. 50–53. The topographical and architectural context of the law-courts and financial *sekreta* has been almost completely ignored both in studies of the Palace and in studies on imperial administration. The subject deserves proper investigation; for some preliminary remarks, see Magdalino ‘Justice and Finance in the Byzantine State’, pp. 98–9, and pp. 44–5 below.

⁶ Theophanes, p. 368; R. Guillard, ‘Études sur l’Hippodrome de Byzance. Les factions au Xe siècle’, *BSL* 30 (1969), pp. 1–17.

Hagia Sophia.⁷ To cap it all, the population had fallen sharply, only recovering slowly from the end of the eighth century, and this seriously reduced the pace of construction within the city.

Of all these changes, it was the fall in population which had the greatest impact, although its true impact can only be understood by examining the depth and timescale of the demographic crisis. Not everyone accepts Cyril Mango's very pessimistic population estimate of about 40,000 in the mid-eighth century – only 10–20% of the commonly accepted figures for the sixth century when the population was at its peak.⁸ His calculation is based on the fact that Constantinople fed itself in this period without importing Egyptian grain, but that is also true of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when the city had recovered and was densely populated once again (see below).⁹ The other evidence used by Mango to show a decrease in consumption (a reduction of port facilities, the demolition of the aqueduct by the Avars in 626) is put in perspective by the extent to which people adapted to these, more or less cultural, disadvantages: it is clear that as time went on the artificial harbours of the ancient type were became less and less indispensable for unloading imported provisions;¹⁰ and that a Christian society could do without the baths and nymphaea which had consumed the bulk of the water supplied by the aqueduct.¹¹ It is fair to make an analogy with Palaiologan Constantinople, which 'returned to what it had been under the iconoclasts – a series of scattered inhabited clusters with more of the city empty than occupied'.¹² But in this case, the very lowest acceptable estimate should be the figure of 70,000 that is reliably attested in the decades

⁷ See Mango, *The Brazen House*, pp. 48–51.

⁸ See Mango, *Développement*, pp. 51–62; cf. Dagron, *Naissance*, pp. 518–41, and the still useful study by D. Jacoby, 'La population de Constantinople à l'époque byzantine: un problème de démographie urbaine', *Byz.* 31 (1961), pp. 81–109 (reprinted in idem, *Société et démographie à Byzance et en Romanie latine* [London 1975]). More recently, J. Durliat has returned to the hypothesis of a 90% fall in population, but from a starting point of 600,000 which he thinks is plausible for the sixth century: *De la ville antique à la ville byzantine*, pp. 250–57, pp. 273–5, pp. 601–2. In addition, see the reservations of M. Kaplan, *Les hommes et la terre*, p. 446 n. 5: 'Même s'il ne reste que 150,000 habitants à Constantinople, chiffre le plus bas que nous puissions accepter....'

⁹ Teall, 'The Grain Supply of the Byzantine Empire' is still useful; see also Magdalino, 'The Grain Supply', pp. 35–6.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*; see also below pp. 48–50, p. 78 ff.

¹¹ See Mango's remarks, 'Development', pp. 121–3, reprinted in idem, *Studies on Constantinople*. Except in times of extreme drought, the smaller baths which replaced the great ancient baths could be supplied with water from the cisterns: Nikephoros, ed. and tr. Mango, pp. 160–61.

¹² Mango, *Développement*, p. 62.

before the Turkish conquest.¹³ At this time, the city had reached its very lowest ebb; moreover, its water reserves were probably much smaller than they had been in the eighth century. There is no evidence that the large open-air cisterns in the west of the city ceased to function at any time before 1204,¹⁴ but by the fifteenth century, they were filled with earth and used as vegetable gardens.¹⁵

In any event, the transformation was essentially *quantitative*. Although qualitative changes were also inextricably involved, we should attempt to distinguish between those that were triggered by the material crisis, and those which had long been in the making and were thus accelerated rather than initiated by the contraction of the city and its economy. We also need to consider why and when the contraction occurred. Was it caused by the plague, endemic to the Mediterranean world after 542,¹⁶ or by the loss of Egypt, the imperial cities' chief granary, a century later? The current consensus is neither to dismiss the plague as an explanation for the collapse of the ancient economy,¹⁷ nor to privilege it over other factors, which it is seen as aggravating, but ultimately war and territorial loss are judged to have been more decisive in destroying the system that sustained Constantinople as a late-antique megalopolis.¹⁸ The implications need to be addressed. We also need to differentiate, in the process of urban transformation, between those functions of urban life which disappeared completely from those which were downsized or relocated but nevertheless continued in existence. With such considerations in mind, we will

¹³ Joseph Bryennios, ed. E. Boulgaris, *Ἰωσήφ μοναχοῦ τοῦ Βρυεννίου τὰ εὐρεθέντα*, II (Leipzig 1768), p. 280, which provides independent confirmation for the conclusions drawn by Sp. Vryonis Jr., in *The Ottoman City and Its Parts*, ed. I.A. Bierman, R.A. Abou-el-Haj, D. Preziosi (New Rochelle, N.Y. 1991), p. 46 n. 22.

¹⁴ They were clearly in working order at the end of the twelfth century: see below, p. 63 and n. 41. The chroniclers' reports of the drought of 765–6, which caused the cisterns to run dry and prompted Constantine V to restore the aqueduct, suggest that the reservoirs had been in constant use until then: Theophanes, ed. de Boor, p. 440 (tr. Mango and Scott, 608); Nikephoros, ed. and tr. Mango, p. 160; cf. Crow and Bayliss, 'Water for the Queen of Cities', p. 46.

¹⁵ Manuel Chrysoloras, PG 156, col. 44; new edition by Cristina Billò in *Medioevo Greco*, [0] (2000), pp. 1–26, at 19.

¹⁶ See the recent comprehensive study by D. Stathakopoulos, *Famine and pestilence*, and also P. Horden, 'Mediterranean Plague in the Age of Justinian', in Maas (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian*, pp. 134–60

¹⁷ As argued by J. Durliat, (*De la ville antique*, and 'La peste du VI^e siècle. Pour un nouvel examen des sources byzantines', in *Hommes et richesses dans l'Empire byzantin*, I, IV^e–VII^e siècle [Paris 1989], 107–19) and M. Whittow, *The Making of Orthodox Byzantium, 600–1025* (London 1996), pp. 66–8.

¹⁸ See now, C. Morrisson and J. Sodini, in Laiou (ed.), *The Economic History of Byzantium*, I, pp. 193–5; B. Ward Perkins in *Cambridge Ancient History*, XIV, pp. 320–27; M. McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, part 1.

be better able to appreciate the relative antiquity of many of the features that characterised the medieval city.

Elements of stability

We should begin by emphasising that several of the structures which provided the framework for urban life did stay the same: the walls, gates, water cisterns, the aqueduct – damaged by the Avars, but later repaired by Constantine V – and the great administrative and ceremonial complex consisting of the Great Palace, the Great Church, the Hippodrome, the Praetorium of the City prefect, the Forum of Constantine, the Augousteion and the porticoes on the city's central avenue, the Mese.

The Port of Julian or Sophia

This continuity is less marked in terms of the harbour facilities.¹⁹ Of the four ports which served the city in the fifth century, two – the Proosphorion on the Golden Horn and the port of Theodosius or Kaisarios on the Marmara – were subsequently abandoned, while from the end of the seventh century the other port on the Golden Horn, the Neorion, was reserved for the war fleet. Only the port of Julian, on the Marmara, continued to be used for commercial shipping. According to the *Parastaseis*, followed by the *Patria*, Justinian moved 'the markets for maritime trade goods' (αἱ ἀγοραὶ τῶν θαλασσίων ἐμπορευμάτων) from the Neorion to this area.²⁰ Cyril Mango suggests that the dating should be rejected, and that the transfer took place in the seventh century as a result of the navy's expansion in response to the Arab threat. However, the fact that the emperor Leontios had to dredge the Neorion to accommodate the navy in 698 shows that it had been out of use for some time.²¹ It is significant that Theophanes mentions the dredging of the harbour to explain an outbreak of bubonic plague in the same year. The popular belief echoed in this comment would seem to be based on a lingering association between the old, abandoned harbour and the plague epidemic that had first hit Constantinople in 542.²² This suggests

¹⁹ Mango, *Développement*, pp. 55–6, and Magdalino, 'The Maritime Neighbourhoods of Constantinople', below.

²⁰ *Parastaseis*, § 72, *Patria*, II p. 68, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, p. 67, p. 188.

²¹ Theophanes, p. 370.

²² Note that, according to Procopius, during the high mortality in 542 the gravediggers were unable to bury all the bodies and ended up throwing them in the towers of Sykai; the Neorion, just opposite, must have been enveloped in a revolting stench: Procopius, *De bell. pers.*, II p. 23.

that the *Parastaseis'* mention of Justinian may not be completely random. A reference to Justinian II seems unlikely, whereas a link to Justinian I is provided by an entry in the *Patria* recording that the port of Julian was renovated by Justin II, Justinian I's successor, and his wife Sophia.²³ As Averil Cameron has shown, there is reason to believe that the rebuilding of the harbour, along with the construction of the neighbouring Sophiae or Sophianae (which, in turn, lent its name to the surrounding area and sometimes to the port itself), dates from before the death of Justinian.²⁴ It is also worth remembering Procopius' scathing criticism of Justinian's determination to spend money to restrain the violence of the waves.²⁵ But why was this emperor, or his successor, so keen on moving maritime trade away from the natural harbour provided by the Golden Horn?²⁶ It is tempting to look for the answer in the troubled later years of Justinian's reign. Two events called into question the commercial security of the Golden Horn: the invasion of the Kotrigur Huns (559) and the immediate fear that they would enter the European suburbs,²⁷ followed in 561 by the riots by the Blues of Sykai, during which the warehouses on the opposite bank were torched.²⁸ Shortly beforehand, a fire had swept through the area around the port of Julian leaving the way clear for renovation.²⁹ What is certain is that in the second half of the sixth century the Sophiae quarter underwent a remarkable period of development, unlike anything seen on the northern shore.³⁰ Apart from the port and the palace, there were two churches built or restored by Justin and Sophia (the churches of Michael the Archangel ἐν τοῖς

²³ *Patria*, II 62, III 37, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, p. 184, p. 229, p. 231; Kedrenos, I, p. 685; cf. Berger, *Untersuchungen*, p. 430, pp. 570–78.

²⁴ Averil Cameron, 'Notes on the Sophiae, the Sophianae and the Harbour of Sophia', *Byz.* 37 (1968), pp. 14–15 (reprinted in eadem, *Continuity and Change*), citing Corippus, *In laudem Iustini Augusti minoris*, I pp. 97–114; ed. Averil Cameron (London 1976), p. 39, and commentary on pp. 132–3.

²⁵ *Anecdota*, VII pp. 7–8, XIX p. 7, XXVI p. 23; for a positive evaluation see Paul the Silentiary, *Ekephrasis of Hagia Sophia*, ed. Friedländer, *Jobannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentiarius* (Leipzig–Berlin 1912), p. 253, l. pp. 925–7.

²⁶ See Procopius, *De aedificiis*, I p. 5. p. 13: λιμὴν δὲ ὄλος πανταχῆ ἐστίν .

²⁷ Agathias, *Historiae*, V pp. 14–15; Theophanes, p. 233.

²⁸ Malalas, ed. Thurn, p. 424.

²⁹ Theophanes, p. 235.

³⁰ The only contemporary building we can identify near the Neorion is the church of the Theotokos τὰ Ἰρωταίου which was built by Justin II: *Patria*, III 23, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, p. 220 (Janin, *Églises*, p. 229; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 403–4). It is possible that the chapel of St Anastasios the Persian by the church of St Philemon in this area dates back to the seventh century, but the building of the chapel is attributed to Constantine VI and Eirene: *Patria*, III 17, ed. Preger, p. 219; cf. B. Flusin, *Saint Anastase le Perse et l'histoire de la Palestine au début du VII^e siècle* (Paris 1992), II, pp. 391–3.

Ἀδδᾶ, and St Thekla), the hospital of Narses with its church dedicated to SS Probos, Tarachos and Andronikos, and, alongside this complex, a large church dedicated to St Panteleimon.³¹

But what were the ‘markets for maritime trade goods’, which are not recorded in the *Book of the Eparch*? I assume it refers to wholesale foodstuffs sold at moderate to low prices, and this seems to be confirmed by the fact that, according to the *Synaxarion*, the church of St Thekla was ἐν τοῖς Κριθοπωλείοις, or at the barley market.³² The *ta Amantion* quarter, right next to the port, was ravaged by fire in 897 and again in 956: fires often broke out and spread fast where commercial goods were stored.³³ Finally, the tenth-century *Life of St Basil the Younger*, which is largely fictitious but is stuffed with topographical *realia*, talks about an extremely rich craftsman who lived near the harbour of the Sophia – an indication that this was known as a thriving commercial district.³⁴

The bakeries

As for the retail trade, the tenth-century sources, in particular the *Book of the Prefect*, suggest that it was mainly centred further inland, towards the eastern end of the Mese.³⁵ Where the exact location of trades and markets can be determined,³⁶ a degree of continuity from the early period is apparent – the silversmiths, for instance, continued to ply their trade between Constantine’s Forum and the Milion.³⁷ Here I will focus on the bakeries and the use of the name Artopoleia or ‘bread market’ to refer to the part of the Mese between the Forum of Constantine and the Forum of Theodosius. The fifth-century *Notitia*

³¹ *Patria*, III 35, 36, 93–5, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, pp. 228–9, pp. 248–9; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 563–6, pp. 578–80, pp. 591–6.

³² *Syn. CP*, col. 75; see Berger, *Untersuchungen*, p. 567.

³³ *Theophanes Continuatus*, p. 354, p. 462; cf. the descriptions of later fires in 1197 (‘Constantinopolitana’, [no. XX in this volume]), 1291 (Pachymeres, VIII p. 25, ed. and tr. Failler, III, pp. 198–201), and 1305 (*ibid.*, XIII 10, Failler, IV, pp. 636–9).

³⁴ Ed. Veselovskij, p. 51: πρὸς τινα οἰκίαν ἐν τῷ λιμένι τῶν Σοφίων διακειμένην ... ἐν ᾧ καὶ κατ᾽ ἄκρην ἐργαστικός (leg. ἐργαστηριακός) πλούσιος σφόδρα.

³⁵ Note, however, that the *Ep. Bibl.* gives few topographical references, and most of them refer to the sale of livestock and fish; it only says that the silversmiths’ workshops were on the Mese (II p. 11), and that the perfumers-chemists had to display their goods between the Milion and the Chalke (X p. 1). The existence of shops selling silk, candles and furs in the forum of Constantine is known from *Theophanes Continuatus*, p. 420, and from a fragment of text published by Oikonomides, ‘Quelques boutiques de Constantinople’.

³⁶ See now M. Mango, ‘The Commercial Map of Constantinople’, and Thomov – Ilieva, ‘The shape of the market’.

³⁷ See *Ep. Bibl.*, II p. 11 with *Chronicon Paschale*, p. 623, and Theophanes, p. 184.

shows that bakeries — there were 140, of which 20 were public — were spread all over the city. The eleventh and twelfth-century documents give the same picture, and the *Book of the Eparch* does not specify a particular bakers' area in the city.³⁸ Thus, Albrecht Berger concluded that the *Artopoleia* had nothing to do with bakeries.³⁹ In contrast, Cyril Mango took the name seriously and saw it as evidence of the decrease in population that, in turn, led the bakers to group together in one location.⁴⁰ The suggestion is plausible given that the area was near the port of Julian and a church of St Theodore 'of the Charcoal-burners' (τὰ Καρβουνάρια)⁴¹ — fuel for the bakers' ovens was close at hand. But this should not lead us to conclude that the *Artopoleia* bakeries were the only bakeries in town, or that they were initially established in that area during the 'Dark Ages'. I think it is more likely to be the result of a process of centralisation in the fifth or sixth century, either as fire prevention after a blaze, or following the rebuilding of the port of Julian under Justinian and Justin II — it is interesting that Justinian's successors built in the *Artopoleia* area.⁴² But this does not completely solve the problem, which is further complicated by confusing notices in the *Patria* referring to a complex of buildings to the south of the Mese between the Forum of Theodosius and the Amastrianon. The notices show a faint and distorted memory of various structures having to do with the grain supply that are recorded by the fifth-century *Notitia* in the ninth region of the City.⁴³ Our starting point is the identification of the *Patria's* mysterious 'Lamia' as a granary in the Port of Theodosius, which must correspond to the *horrea Alexandrina* referred to in the *Notitia*.⁴⁴ The granary was in use in the seventh century and also in 899 when the official in charge, the κόμης τῆς Λαμίας is listed in Philotheos' precedence list.⁴⁵ This confirms and explains the existence of a 'bakery of the Lamia' (τῆς Λαμίας τοῦ Πιστωρείου),

³⁸ See *Not. CP; Ep. Bibl.*, XVIII p. 3; cf. the *Diataxis* of Michael Attaleiates, ed. Gautier, p. 43, p. 99, as well as the documents granting concessions to the Venetians in 1084 and 1148 (IT, I, p. 112, pp. 117–18), to the Pisans in 1192 (ed. Müller, *Documenti*, pp. 47–8, pp. 56–7 = MM, III, pp. 19–20).

³⁹ Berger, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 312–6.

⁴⁰ Mango, *Développement*, p. 55.

⁴¹ Berger, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 321–2.

⁴² Church of the Holy Anargyroi ἐν τοῖς Δαρείου, and restoration of the bath at the Forum Tauri (Theophanes, p. 243; *Patria*, III 123, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, p. 255; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 434–7, church of the Forty Martyrs (see below, pp. 35–7, p. 39).

⁴³ *Not. CP*, p. 237.

⁴⁴ *Patria*, II 51, III, p. 85, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, p. 179, p. 246; Mango, *Développement*, pp. 54–5.

⁴⁵ *Miracles of St Artemios*, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Varia*, 16; tr. Crisafulli-Nesbitt, p. 107; Oikonomides, *Listes de préséance*, p. 113.

to which, according to the *Patria*, the empress Eirene added dining rooms (τρικλίνους) at the end of the eighth century;⁴⁶ in all likelihood this refers to the restoration of a former *pistrinum publicum*.⁴⁷ The Lamia complex was between the Amastrianon Square and the Palace of Eleutherios, a building also attributed to Eirene, and this is no doubt the source of the suggestion that the empress knocked down a hippodrome that Theodosius I had built between the palace and the square.⁴⁸ It is more difficult to make sense of the notices about the Modion, an enigmatic monument which in the tenth century stood on the Mese between the Philadelphion and the Forum of Theodosius, probably in front of the Myrelaion.⁴⁹ It was definitely some sort of apparatus for weighing corn, but all the information about its appearance and exact location is so scrambled that it can only be the result of a series of misreadings, interpolations and false interpretations. The only thing we can say for sure is that originally the Modion was set up beside a granary, although it is not clear if this was the Lamia granary.⁵⁰

The difficulty is knowing what the relationship was between these buildings, especially the Lamia, and the bakeries of the Artopoleia, the Port of Julian, and the other bakeries built by the Empress Eirene. Since the Lamia granary was just beside the Port of Theodosius, how was the grain transported in

⁴⁶ Ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, p. 246; a variant gives τὰς λαμίας τὰ Πιστωπέα.

⁴⁷ The *Not. CP* records four of them in the ninth region.

⁴⁸ *Patria*, III 173, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, p. 269; see Berger, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 488–90. No doubt it was all part of one complex, the *oikos* τῶν Ἐλευθερίου; see below, n.52 I have suggested elsewhere ('Maritime Neighbourhoods', p. 216) that the Palace of Eleutherios was the Theodosian *domus* of Arcadia placed in the ninth region by *Not. CP*, p. 237.

⁴⁹ *Parastaseis*, § 12, *Patria*, II 51, 97, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, pp. 27–8, p. 279, pp. 202–3. The position of the Modion can be inferred from the evidence in the *De Cer.* (ed. Reiske, p. 83, p. 106; ed. Vogt, I, p. 75, p. 98); this ties in perfectly with the information in the *Patria* which places the Modion in front of the house of Krateros (II p. 97, ed. Preger, p. 202). For the identification of this with the Myrelaion, see Mango, *Développement*, p. 59 n. 49.

⁵⁰ Berger's discussion of this (*Untersuchungen*, pp. 338–46) is not entirely satisfactory. In my opinion the confusion between ὠρεῖον (granary) and ὠρολόγιον (clock) has been compounded by the confusion between two places, the Amastrianon square and the space in front of the house of Krateros, which are both given an *apsis* and a granary in the corrupted text. All that we can infer from this is that if there was *one* Modion at the Amastrianon, it was no longer there in the tenth century; see the previous footnote and note the use of the past tense ἵστατο (ed. Preger, p. 179). Could it be that the Modion did move from one place to the other and this led to the fictional repositioning of the Lamia granary, which was near the Amastrianon in reality? The situation of the house of Krateros, which is known from the remains of the Myrelaion built there afterwards, seems to be a little too far from the port to be convenient for a granary, and the Theodosian rotunda which was used as a foundation for the Myrelaion bears no resemblance to Roman *horrea*. On this subject see G. Rickman, *Roman Granaries and Store Buildings* (Cambridge 1971).

the tenth century? Was it carried by mule from the port of Julian, or can we assume that the port of Theodosius was still just about serviceable?⁵¹ Where was the grain ground? The sources make no reference to mills in the area. What happened to the bread baked in the Empress Eirene's bakeries – was it sold in the Artopoleia, or was it given to the poor? The second idea is tempting given Eirene's well-known piety. It is worth remembering that these bakeries were very near the Myrelaion, a luxurious house which passed into the hands of Romanos Lekapenos in the tenth century.⁵² When he became emperor, he transformed it into a great religious foundation.⁵³ This foundation not only fed its own residents – cloistered nuns, the elderly and sick – but also enormous crowds of poor. In his will, Romanos envisaged a daily distribution of 30,000 loaves of bread at his tomb.⁵⁴ It seems very likely that when Romanos set up his own imperial *oikos*, he allocated the resources of the neighbouring imperial foundation set up by the empress Eirene, to his own Myrelaion.⁵⁵

In any case, it is interesting to note that the Theodosian buildings on the Marmara coast apparently survived much longer than the granaries on the Golden Horn, which are not mentioned at all in either the *Parastaseis* or the *Patria*. This is particularly striking considering that, when the *Notitia* was written in the fifth century, these granaries were among 'the necessary buildings of

⁵¹ Cf. Mango, *Développement*, p. 40 n. 15.

⁵² For a general overview, see C.L. Striker, *The Myrelaion (Bodrum Camii) in Istanbul* (Princeton 1981), with Mango, *Développement*, p. 59. From the *Life of St Basil the Younger* it is clear that the Myrelaion was considered as part of the Palace of Eleutherios: ed. Veselovskij p. 72; Mango, *Développement*, p. 59 n.51.

⁵³ Janin, *Églises*, pp. 351–4.

⁵⁴ *Theophanes Continuatus*, p. 402, p. 420, p. 430 (distributions), p. 473; Skylitzes, ed. Thurn, p. 231, describes *annual* distributions which still happened in his time. The existence of a hospital (ξενών) and an old people's home (γηροκομείον) can be deduced from an eleventh-century judicial ruling (*Peira*, XV p. 12; Zepos, IV, p. 53), although the details are unclear. However, the hospital is mentioned in a medical treatise which may date to the tenth century (Miller, *The Birth of the Hospital*, p. 180), and the existence of the old people's home is confirmed by the signatures of seven Myrelaion officials as witnesses to a document in 1089; one of them describes himself as βασιλικός νοτάριος τοῦ γηροτροφείου: *Patmos*, I, p. 334. The γηροκομείον τοῦ βασιλέως κυροῦ Ῥωμανοῦ mentioned in the Typikon of the Pantokrator (ed. and tr. Gautier, pp. 110–13) was nothing to do with the Myrelaion, but refers to a the annex of a leper-hospital to the north of the Golden Horn (cf. p. 30 and n. 75); hence the emperor in question is Romanos III (see Skylitzes, ed. Thurn, p. 389)

⁵⁵ However, the *oikos* τῶν Ἐλευθερίου never lost its separate identity and was eventually joined to the *oikos* of the Mangana: Oikonomides, *Listes de préséance*, p. 318; idem, 'L'évolution', p. 138; Kaplan, *Les hommes et la terre*, p. 314, pp. 318–19.

the City',⁵⁶ to the extent that the emperor inspected them personally, and the inspection procedure was considered worth recording in the tenth-century in the *Book of Ceremonies*,⁵⁷ even though it was by then completely anachronistic. The lack of reference to granaries in the *Parastaseis* and *Patria* is a further indication that the desertion of the Golden Horn began well before the end of the seventh century.

Markets for livestock and meat

After the silversmiths, the most precisely located businesses in the *Book of the Prefect* are the markets for livestock, which were held in three of the city's main squares. Sheep and pigs were sold at the Strategion, pigs and Easter lambs at the Tauros (Forum of Theodosius), and horses and donkeys at the Amastrianon.⁵⁸ It is natural to see this as a degradation of the city's finest monumental space, reflecting a decline in the standards of urban living from late antiquity.⁵⁹ But there must have been markets for livestock in late-antique Constantinople, at the time when the squares were laid out. It is possible that these markets were held outside the city walls, at the land gates for animals driven overland from the European hinterland, and at the sea gates for livestock brought by ships from Asia Minor. The *Patria* seems to echo some such arrangement in the information that Constantine V transferred the cattle market from the semi-circular wall at the Proosphorion harbour to the Forum of Theodosius.⁶⁰ But the animals (apart from the draught animals) still had to be slaughtered, which presumably happened at the places where their meat was cut up and sold; in other words, whether they were marketed inside or outside the walls, they still had to be driven to the butchers' establishments inside the city. The *Notitia* clearly indicates that the main meat markets (*macella*) of early fifth-century Constantinople were located in Region V, i.e. near the Strategion, and in Region

⁵⁶ See the description of the fifth region in *Not. CP*, pp. 233–4 and Mango, *Développement*, p. 40. In addition to the three granaries and the oil depot there were also seven public bakeries. No doubt the granaries were quickly rebuilt after they burnt down in 433: *Chron. Pasch.*, p. 582.

⁵⁷ *De Cer.*, II p. 51, ed. Reiske, pp. 699–701. The references to the imperial chariot and the Praetorian prefect clearly show that this text was written before the seventh century.

⁵⁸ *Ep. Bibl.*, XV p. 1, p. 5; XVI p. 3; XXI p. 3, p. 8; M. Mango, 'The Commercial Map of Constantinople', pp. 199–200.

⁵⁹ As implied by Mango, *Développement*, p. 57: 'insalubrité et ruralisation'.

⁶⁰ *Patria* III 149, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, p. 264. Cattle are not mentioned in the *Book of the Prefect*.

VIII, near the Forum of Theodosius.⁶¹ It is hard not to see a connection with the livestock markets held at these squares in the tenth century. The *Book of the Prefect* thus reflects a basic continuity in the location of the retail meat trade, if not of the wholesale marketing of animals for the City's consumption.

Christian buildings

Churches, monasteries and charitable institutions were by far the most typical and numerous buildings in the medieval City. To work out how many there were in the Middle Ages, we need to start by looking at two tenth-century collections which list the most important buildings in the City: the *Patria* and the *Synaxarion* or *Typikon of the Great Church*. These two texts were compiled for different reasons and this influences the evidence they provide. Besides commenting on a few interesting secular buildings, the *Patria* gives us a 'tourist' list of all the most famous places of worship – the best known locally or those of most interest to visitors. On the other hand, the *Synaxarion/Typikon* gives a 'liturgical' list of shrines and churches where religious feast were celebrated. In comparing the two, it is not surprising to find that the 'liturgical' list is much longer than the 'tourist' one: of 248 shrines in the *Synaxarion/Typikon*,⁶² 162 do not feature in the *Patria*. Most of these were small oratories which are only mentioned in this source and were annexes of other, larger churches,⁶³ or situated out in the suburbs or between the two land walls.⁶⁴ More surprising are the 51 sites mentioned by the *Patria* but not listed in the *Synaxarion/Typikon*. Clearly some of the omitted churches were important, for instance the church of the Mother

⁶¹ *Not CP*, p. 234, p. 236; cf. M. Mango, 'The Commercial Map of Constantinople', pp. 193–4.

⁶² This figure is generous and has been rounded up taking into account all the versions of the *Syn. CP* published by H. Delehay, and including all the sites of commemoration mentioned, even when they do not use the exact word (οἶκος, μαρτύριον, ἀποστολεῖον, προφητεῖον) for a building consecrated to a holy person. I have also included references to churches where a commemoration is not stipulated (the churches of Hagia Dynamis and St Thomas *ta Anthemiou*, monastery of the Akoimeto).

⁶³ This is indicated by the formulae εἰς, πλησίον, ἐνδόν, but there are no further details. It is still possible to distinguish between complexes comprising two or three churches of a fairly equal status (Chalkoprataia, *ta Sphorakion*: see below) and complexes where chapels were attached to a clearly superior church, as is evidently the case at Hagia Sophia, the Holy Apostles, St John at Diippion and at St Philemon. Undoubtedly, there were other more diffuse groupings, like the numerous martyria near the church of St Anne at the Deuteron.

⁶⁴ Remember that Constantine's wall remained standing after the second wall was built by Theodosius II, which meant that the area between the two 'was neither truly urban nor truly suburban': Mango, *Développement*, pp. 46–50.

of God at the Sigma, which we know was a large church and was attended on Sundays by the great and the good.⁶⁵ How can the *Synaxarion* fail to mention the solemn anniversaries performed at the church of St Luke, which the Empress Eirene set up in the City's chief cemetery?⁶⁶ It is significant that about half of the churches (25 of 51) mentioned in the *Patria* but omitted by the *Synaxarion/Typikon* belonged to monasteries. Monasteries hardly feature in the *Synaxarion/Typikon* at all: of the 162 churches which feature in *Synaxarion/Typikon* alone, only 13 belonged to monasteries,⁶⁷ and of these three were founded by recent patriarchs who were buried and commemorated there.⁶⁸ Also, the *Synaxarion* sometimes refers to a church or shrine without mentioning its monastery. This type of conservatism distances the Great Church from the great monastic expansion that was happening at the same time: the two liturgical traditions were still fairly separate.⁶⁹

Despite these differences, there are 89 churches common to both of these tenth century collections and were thus clearly very important at the time. Although some churches are still difficult to identify, date and locate, most of the problems have been solved by the detailed topographical work of Raymond Janin and Albrecht Berger, and we can make some general observations based on their surveys.⁷⁰

⁶⁵ Besides the notice in the *Patria* (III 182, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, pp. 172–3), the church is only mentioned with reference to the great earthquake of 869, and its reconstruction by Basil I: *Theophanes Continuatus*, p. 323, p. 688 (Pseudo-Symeon), p. 840 (George the Monk); cf. Janin, *Églises*, pp. 230–31, and Berger, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 644–5. The *Synaxarion* also records the destruction of the church but without mentioning any commemorations there.

⁶⁶ *Patria*, III 85, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, p. 246; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 624–35.

⁶⁷ There are only six if we take away the monasteries of St Andrew *in Krisei*, and the monasteries of St Eustolia and St Matrona which are not mentioned in the commemorations in version H; for St Andrew see now M.F. Auzépy, in *Les saints et leur sanctuaire* (cited above, Introduction n. 29), pp. 127–35.

⁶⁸ That is Ignatios, Photios and Antony Kauleas. The three commemorations which took place at the monastery of St George 'of Sykeon' are explained by the commemoration of the patriarch Stephen, who left his body to the church there: the *Theophanes Continuatus*, p. 354; cf. above, p. 14 n. 32. The monastery of Galakrenai, also mentioned in the *Patria*, is in the list of commemorations because of its most famous *ketetor*, the patriarch Nicholas Mystikos.

⁶⁹ See R.F. Taft, *The Byzantine Rite. A Short History* (Collegeville Minnesota 1991).

⁷⁰ I have only three further solutions to suggest, and I give them here since they affect my figures: 1. The church of St Prokopios ἐν τῷ Κονδύλιῳ/ τὸ Κονδύλιον (*Typ.* 8th July; *Patria*, III 53, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, p. 236) should, in my opinion, be identified as the church of St Prokopios τὰ Βιγλεντίας (*Patria*, III 117, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, p. 254. A will of 1090 lists among its witnesses a priest of St Prokopios τῶν Βιγλεντίας τοῦ Κονδύλιου: *Iviron* II, no. 44 l. p. 26. If we read the last word as Κονδύλιου or Κονδύλιου rather than Κονδύλιου (...) as the editors suggest, then it is referring to a single church on the north side of the Forum Tauri (Forum of Theodosius); 2. It follows that

1. Of the religious foundations recorded in both the *Patria* and the *Synaxarion/Typikon*, almost three quarters (55 out of 89) were within Constantine's wall, and they were particularly concentrated in the area between the Zeugma and the Acropolis (47 out of 89).
2. Monasteries were not well represented (10 out of 89, and only 2 of them within Constantine's wall).
3. With two or three exceptions, all the religious foundations date from the fourth to sixth centuries.⁷¹

In light of these observations, it is worth considering the first great programme of restoration we know about after the sixth century: the work undertaken by Basil I between 867 and 886.⁷² Predictably, Basil was particularly keen to leave his mark on the great buildings of Hagia Sophia and the Holy Apostles which symbolised, more than any of the other churches, the history of the City and the glory of the Empire. But beyond these prestigious sites, his programme of restoration focused primarily on the areas outside Constantine's wall which had suffered most in the earthquake of 869.⁷³ Over half of the churches mentioned by name by his biographer were in this area, and of those, only half feature in our list of 89 important churches. Moreover, it is only after describing restoration work on churches outside the wall that his biographer mentions some of those Basil restored in the centre of the City (St Akakios, St Anastasia, St Aimilianos, St Plato). All Basil's other church restorations – the Chalkoprateia, the Archangels *ta Tzerou*,⁷⁴ St Laurence 'and other sacred houses, about a hundred of them, across the City' – are mentioned only after a long account of building works carried out at the Great Palace, which suggests that the restoration work in question was not so urgent or extensive. When allowance is made for the laudatory purpose of the *Life of Basil*, itself a product of the official culture of collecting, Basil's rescue work does not

the church of St John Prodromos τὰ Κινθήλια which is recorded in the *Patria* immediately after St Prokopios the Kondyilion (ed. Preger, p. 236) was also in the vicinity of the Forum of Theodosius. If this is the case, this church and the church of the Precursor πλησίον τοῦ Ταύρου (*Typ.* 24th January) could be one and the same; 3. The great church of St Tryphon τὰ Βασιλίσκου (*Patria*, III 122, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, p. 255) can be identified with the *martyrion* of the saint πλησίον τῶν Χαμοῦνδου which was the point from which, according to an old usage, the Palm Sunday procession departed to go to the church of St Romanos.

⁷¹ The exceptions are easy to list: the Nea Ekklesia, the church of the Theotokos at the Forum of Constantine, and the monastery of St Lazaros.

⁷² *Theophanes Continuatus*, pp. 323–5, pp. 338–41.

⁷³ See above, n. 65, and the comments of V. Grumel, *La chronologie* (Paris 1958), p. 479.

⁷⁴ According to the *Patria* (III 24, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, pp. 220–21) it was a double church which collapsed in the earthquake of 869; see Berger, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 387–8.

seem so extraordinary, since the vast majority of the truly urban churches were apparently not affected – in other words, they had little need of restoration even though they were, on average, three hundred years old. What is more, it is remarkable that Basil scarcely touched any churches which had been built or restored after the middle of the sixth century – that is to say the great number of religious foundations dating to the reigns of Justin II (565–578), Tiberius II Constantine (578–582), Maurice (582–602) and Phokas (602–610).

It is clear that in the tenth century Constantinople had several dozen churches which were reasonably well-used and had been maintained since the sixth century, which suggests a fairly large and stable urban population. We can get an idea of the size of the urban clergy at the end of antiquity from the legislation that Heraclius issued in order to reduce their numbers.⁷⁵ In his first Novel of 612 he tried to reduce the staff at the Great Church and the church of the Blachernae: at Hagia Sophia he envisaged a grand total of 600 clerics (80 priests, 150 deacons, 40 deaconesses, 70 sub-deacons, 160 lectors, 25 cantors, 75 janitors [πυλωροί]), and a total of 72 clerics at the church of the Blachernae (12 priests, 18 deacons, 6 deaconesses, 8 sub-deacons, 20 lectors, 4 cantors, 6 janitors).⁷⁶ We know that in addition there were three colleges (ἀσκητήρια) of virgins (ἀσκήτριαι) at Hagia Sophia, dedicated to chanting.⁷⁷ In about the same period, the smaller church of St John Prodromos at Oxeia had ten wardens (προσμονάριοι).⁷⁸ Undoubtedly the burgeoning economic crisis hastened the reduction in the number of clergy,⁷⁹ but there is nothing to suggest that their numbers did not increase again with the economic growth of the medieval

⁷⁵ Cf. the allusions to a number of urban churches: καὶ πλείονων εὐκτηρίων ὄντων κατὰ ταύτην τὴν βασιλίδαν πόλιν (Nov. 1, ed. Konidaris, p. 68), ἐν ἧ̄ τοσοῦτων ἀγιοτάτων ἐκκλησιῶν τε καὶ εὐκτηρίων οἴκων καὶ πρὸς γε εὐαγῶν μοναστηρίων ἔστι πλῆθος (Nov. 2, *ibid.*, 74). For general comments on the resources of the Byzantine church and its means of sustenance, see the penetrating analysis by Papagianne, *Τὰ οἰκονομικά*.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 62–73; Heraclius (ed. Konidaris, p. 68) suggests that people sought posts at these churches rather than at others, and undoubtedly this is the result of the endowments which Hagia Sophia and the Blachernae church received from emperors in the sixth century. As Heraclius was aware, even the prescribed numbers of staff other than janitors at Hagia Sophia far exceed the limits set down by Justinian (Nov. 3).

⁷⁷ See Dagron, ‘À propos des inhumations’, pp. 178–9; and note the story of the Great Church’s little *asketria* who was brought by her teacher (διδάσκαλος) to Theodore of Sykeon so that the saint could restore her speech: *Life of St Theodore of Sykeon*, ed. Festugière, § 95, I, p. 78. It is clear from the *Typ.*, I, p. 4 that the *asketeria* were still there in the tenth century.

⁷⁸ *Miracles of St Artémios*, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Varia* I, p. 44; tr. Crisafulli-Nesbitt, p. 162. I do not know how or if the *prosmonarioi* were different from the *pyloroi* in the Novels.

⁷⁹ Perhaps not entirely unrelated to Heraclius’ legislation: see Durliat, *De la ville antique*, pp. 270–73.

Empire,⁸⁰ and twelfth-century clerical pluralism cannot be cited as evidence to the contrary.⁸¹ If there was a shortage of clergy, the new monastic foundations, which will be discussed below, partially made up for it and certainly visitors still had the impression that it was a city swarming with priests, monks and nuns.⁸² All these religious did not live in a vacuum: they themselves were drawn from a population that was not entirely rural, they bought their food and necessities from the city, and used an urban workforce to maintain their buildings.

Charitable institutions

It is important to remember that the Church was not simply a burden to the City, some idle cultural institution materially dependent on the community, but was fully integrated into the urban environment and guaranteed its survival. Firstly, there were the charitable institutions, founded out of Christian philanthropy, and closely tied to Christian worship which, from the seventh century, were part of state organised welfare provision.⁸³ There was the great Orphanage of St Paul on the Acropolis, founded in the fourth century and re-

⁸⁰ There is no mistaking the meaning of the passage from Basil Padiadites cited by J. Darrouzès, *Recherches sur les ὀφθίμια de l'Église byzantine* [Paris 1970], p. 77), and this has been followed, with a degree of hesitation, by Papagiannē, *Τά οἰκονομικά*, p. 93. He says that the patriarch (Niketas Mountanes) appeared like Christ to the five hundred, and he continues: εἰ μὲν τις λέγει τοῖς καταγεγραμμένοις εἰς κλήρον τῷ τεμένει τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ Σοφίας, οὐκ ἀποπροσποιοῦμαι τὸν λέγοντα· ἡ γάρ τοῦ κλήρου συγκεφαλαιωσις τοσάριθμος (*Cod. Scor. gr.* Y-II-10, fol. 275^v). This corresponds to Heraclius' overall figure after taking away chanters and porters: no doubt we should also subtract the number of deaconesses.

One can deduce from a text of Eustathios of Thessalonica that in 1170 the 'ordinary' deacons numbered 60, but that there were many supernumeraries, whose numbers we do not know: P. Wirth, 'Zur Biographie des Eustathios von Thessalonike', *Byz.* 36 (1966), p. 264, and Papagiannē, pp. 86–7.

⁸¹ Theodore Balsamon (*Scholion on canon 15 of the 7th Ecumenical Council*, RP, II, pp. 620–21; see Papagiannē, *Τά οἰκονομικά*, pp. 92–3) complains that in this period, due to the lack of resources and personnel, clerics were obliged to carry out their duties at two or even three churches. But this was not a new phenomenon, and is more easily explained by a desire for two salaries. This is how Zonaras understood it in his scholion on the same canon, and it was for this reason that Heraclius condemned the practice (Nov. 2, ed. Konidaris, pp. 74–6).

⁸² K.N. Ciggaar, 'Une description anonyme de Constantinople du XII^e siècle', *REB* 31 (1973), p. 340, pp. 347–9; Antony of Novgorod, tr. B. de Khitrowo, *Itinéraires russes*, pp. 110–11; cf. Papagiannē, pp. 93–4. For further evidence, see below, pp. 61–2.

⁸³ See in general Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare*; Kaplan, 'Maisons impériales et fondations pieuses'.

established by Justin II.⁸⁴ The director of the Orphanage, the Orphanotrophos, was also responsible for the leprosarium of St Zotikos beyond the Golden Horn.⁸⁵ Then there were the six great hospitals mentioned in the *Patria*, whose importance in the tenth century is clear from the court ceremonies on Palm Sunday.⁸⁶ Besides the famous *xenones* of Sampson and Euboulos near Hagia Sophia, which Justinian rebuilt after the Nika riot,⁸⁷ there were two other early Byzantine institutions: the fifth-century hospital of St Marcian the Oikonomos at Perama on the Golden Horn, and the Narses hospital at the port of Julian (founded in the second half of the sixth century).⁸⁸ In the more recent past, the empress Eirene had founded a *xenon* although its exact location is unknown,⁸⁹ and the emperor Theophilos established another 'at Zeugma, on the hill'.⁹⁰ There was another smaller *xenon* in the Deuteron in a place called *ta Paschention*.⁹¹ Lastly, there were 15 old people's homes or *gerokomeia*, which we know about primarily from the *Patria*.⁹²

⁸⁴ For recent discussion, see T.S. Miller, 'The Orphanotropheion of Constantinople', in *Through the Eye of a Needle: Judeo-Christian Roots of Social Welfare*, ed. E.A. Hanawalt and C. Lindberg (Kirkville MI 1994), pp. 83–104, and idem, *The Orphans of Byzantium*; cf. below, p. 42, pp. 84–6.

⁸⁵ M. Aubineau, 'Zoticos de Constantinople, nourricier des pauvres et serviteur des lépreux', *An.Boll.*, 93 (1975), pp. 67–108, reprinted in idem, *Chrysostome, Sévérien, Proclus, Hésychios et alii: patristique et hagiographie grecques* (London 1988); Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare*, p. 164 ff.; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, p. 691–2.

⁸⁶ *De Cer.*, ed. Reiske, p. 173, ed. Vogt, I, pp. 160–62; *Patria*, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, p. 185, p. 234, p. 246, p. 249, p. 254. See Miller, *The Birth of the Hospital*, pp. 91–2, p. 95.

⁸⁷ *Patria*, III 119–20, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, p. 254. On the Sampson *xenon* see Miller, 'The Sampson hospital'.

⁸⁸ *Patria*, III 44, 94–5, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, p. 234, p. 249; for St Marcian, see Dagron 'Les sanctuaires et l'organisation de la vie religieuse', pp. 1076–7. These two hospitals were at the very edge of the City's chief *decumanus* at the time of Constantine (Mango, *Développement*, p. 31).

⁸⁹ *Patria*, III 85, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, p. 246. It is very likely that this was near the Palace of Eleutherios and the Lamia bakeries: see above, p. 23 ff.

⁹⁰ See below, pp. 50–51.

⁹¹ *Syn. Cp.-Typ.* 10 June: Janin, *Églises*, p. 561.

⁹² *Patria*, III 5, 61, 63, 68, 72, 73, 94, 97, 105, 106, 108, 121, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, p. 216, pp. 238–41, p. 249, pp. 251–2, pp. 254–5; *Syn. CP.-Typ.* 26 Feb. (τοῦ Σάγματος [or Σίγματος?], 15 April (τοῦ Μελοβίου); *Theophanes Continuatus*, p. 370: τὰ Κύφης, a former brothel converted into a *gerokomeion* by Leo VI and visited from then on by emperors on their way back from the Blachernae on Good Friday (*De cer.*, ed. Reiske, p. 180, ed. Vogt, I, p. 168). It was on the *embolos* of Domninos, near the old baths of Dagistheus: *Miracles of St Artemios*, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Varia*, p. 13; tr. Crisafulli-Nesbitt, p. 101. According to this seventh-century text 'Κυψε' had formerly been the site of stables for 'the Hippodrome's horses' (κατὰ τὴν Κύφην ἔνθα ποτὲ τὰ σταύλα ἦσαν τῶν τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου ἵππων); it is quite likely that it was part of a complex of buildings belonging to

Religious foundations and municipal facilities

However, the Church did not just provide for the sick and needy: it also had overall control, at least indirectly, of most of the municipal facilities used by the well-off in medieval Constantinople. This is clearly the case for the public baths, the legal profession, and secondary education. To examine this type of activity more closely, we need to move away from the tenth-century collections that have provided practically all our information so far. The most useful information on municipal facilities is found elsewhere and it is probably for this reason that its contribution to the overall picture of medieval Constantinople is still largely unrecognised.

Public baths and *diakoniai*

As I have discussed the public baths in depth elsewhere, I will simply summarise my conclusions here and add a few more examples.⁹³ In the sixth century, long before they fell into ruin, the great public baths, which were free, were already being supplanted by smaller bath-houses attached to religious foundations which charged for their use. These are to be seen in the same context as the ritual baths, the *loumata* or *lousmata*, used by the *diakoniai* – religious confraternities that assembled once a week to wash and feed the poor. Twenty-five *diakoniai* are attested, mainly from seals, in connection with specific churches in Constantinople from the sixth to the twelfth centuries; they are listed in Appendix I.⁹⁴ A text from Theodore Stoudites' letter collection, studied recently by Gilbert Dagron, also needs to be added to the dossier; it concerns a *diakonia* that was specifically devoted to providing funeral services for paupers.⁹⁵ Despite the evidence of this piece, I would still hold to my original view that, as a general rule, a *diakonia* was organised around a *lousma*, to the extent that the words were often synonymous,⁹⁶ and I would still conclude that the *diakoniai* effectively took over, and so christianised the bathing culture of the ancient

the Blues, where there was still a church – St Anastasia? – in the tenth century: *De cer.*, ed. Reiske, p. 357; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, p. 447.

⁹³ P. Magdalino, 'Church, bath and *diakonia* in medieval Constantinople', in *Church and People in Byzantium*, ed. R. Morris (Birmingham 1990), pp. 165–88.

⁹⁴ The list includes three – at St Mokios, *ta Ourbikiou* and the Theotokos of the Neorion – which came to my attention since the publication of my previous study.

⁹⁵ Dagron, 'À propos des inhumations', pp. 162–4, p. 175 ff.; text ed. G. Fatouros, *Theodori Studitae epistulae*, CFHB (Berlin–New York 1992), I, pp. 41–3.

⁹⁶ Cf. the rubric of the prayer recited during the ritual: Εὐχή εἰς κόλυμβον διακονίας ἡγουου λούσματος; ed. Dmitrievski, *Opisanie*, II, p. 49.

city, in the mid-to-late sixth century. It is difficult get around what John of Ephesus says about the activity of Syrian monks in Constantinople,⁹⁷ or the sources which associate the three best known *lousmata* of the ninth and tenth centuries – those at the Blachernae,⁹⁸ *ta Armationou*⁹⁹ and *ta Areobindou*¹⁰⁰ – with the reigns of Tiberius and Maurice. The existence of a *diakonia* at the church of *ta Ourbikiou* further points to the importance of the sixth century and the influence of Syrian monasticism. The *diakonia* was surely associated with the community of Syrian monks, who, according to John of Ephesus, established themselves there in 548.¹⁰¹ Also, the saintly patriarch Eutychios, who was highly respected by Tiberius and Maurice during his second patriarchate (577–582), had been very attached to this church during his childhood.¹⁰²

It is true that *diakoniai* were also founded much later, for instance the *lousma* of the Theotokos at the Neorion. In one of the versions of the *Synaxarion* there is story about a *patrikios* called Anthony who lived at the time of Michael III and Theodora (843–856) and had a fine house (οἰκίαν σεμνήν) with a church dedicated to the Mother of God in the courtyard of the Neorion shipyard. As the church had suffered under the iconoclast emperors he restored it to its former glory and built a small bath for his own personal use underneath it. Due to the proximity of the church, the Holy Spirit performed a series of miracles at the bath. When news of this spread, pious men gathered together to ask the *patrikios* to perform a weekly *lousma* for them ‘for the sake of the brothers in Jesus Christ’ – that is to say, for the poor. He agreed to their request and gathered them together once a week until his death, when he bequeathed the whole property to the members of the group. However, they were men of humble status (εὐτελεῖς), without powerful friends, and all the resources, including the water, quickly ran out. Under the terms of the *patrikios*’ will they could not transfer the rights to the property, so they lost heart, and, after their

⁹⁷ *Hist. eccl. pars tertia*, II, pp. 15–16, tr. Brooks, pp. 55–6; idem, ed. and tr., *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, nos. pp. 45–6; PO 18, pp. 668–76.

⁹⁸ The *Patria* only mentions one foundation under Leo I and a renovation by Basil II (III 75, 214, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, 242, 283), but according to Theophanes, p. 251, p. 261, Tiberius and Maurice built a δημόσιον λουτρόν, which must have been linked in some way to the ἄγιον λούμα. Cf. Berger, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 541–2.

⁹⁹ *Patria*, III 62, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, pp. 238–9; *Syn. CP-Typ.* 26 Feb., cf. Berger, *Untersuchungen*, p. 504.

¹⁰⁰ *Patria*, III 59, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, pp. 237–8; Theophanes, p. 277.

¹⁰¹ PO 18, p. 683.

¹⁰² Eustratios, *Life of Eutychios*, ed. Laga, p. 14. Heraclius’ third Novel (ed. Konidaris, p. 80) deals with the church of *ta Ourbikiou* along with Hagia Sophia and the Blachernae.

deaths, the *lousma* declined until it was restored by Romanos Lekapenos, on which more later.¹⁰³

This text sheds light on several aspects of the creation of a *diakonia*, and it is possible that others started out in the same way. A good example is the famous 'holy *lousma*' at the church of the Theotokos τῶν Ὁδηγῶν, where, before the eleventh century, the most famous of the Byzantine confraternities was formed to venerate an icon of the Virgin known as the Hodegetria.¹⁰⁴ The short notice in the *Patria* has elements of a foundation story similar to the one just cited: 'The Hodegoi were built by Michael, who was killed by Basil; it was previously an oratory. Many blind people had their sight restored by the spring there, and many miracles took place'.¹⁰⁵ Once again we are in the period after the Triumph of Orthodoxy, in the midst of the same programme of renewal that led Basil I, a little later, to restore the *diakonia* at the neighbouring church of the Archangels.¹⁰⁶ But here, it is definitely a case of restoration. Taking the list of *diakoniai* as a whole, the weight of evidence suggests that in the ninth century, renewals of older institutions outnumbered new foundations, but what mostly prevailed was continuity from the sixth century. And, as with churches and hospitals, there was nothing innovative in the new ninth-century foundations, except, perhaps, in the insistence on miraculous origins. It was not until the eleventh century that a *diakonia* was set up within a new monastic foundation (the Mangana), and even in this period there was still a conservative tendency, as can be seen in the *diakonia* of Christ Antiphonetes which the empress Zoe established, in all likelihood, while she was renovating the church of the same dedication in the Chalkoprateia complex.¹⁰⁷ However, these two examples are hardly sufficient to shed light on the later development of *diakoniai* – why are there so few examples after the tenth century? The topography as well as the chronology of the evidence presents problems of interpretation. It is striking that almost all the *diakonia*-baths that we know about were on the edge of the populated centre of the City; apart from the *diakonia* of *ta Maurianou* on the

¹⁰³ *Syn. CP.* 31 August, col. 935 ff.; see below, pp. 93–4.

¹⁰⁴ See now C. Angelidi and T. Papamastorakis, 'The Veneration of the Virgin Hodegetria and the Hodegon Monastery', in Vassilaki (ed.), *Mother of God*, pp. 373–87.

¹⁰⁵ *Patria*, III 27, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, p. 223; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 376–8. See the *Logos Diegematikos*, ed. Angélide, 'Discours narratif', pp. 135–49, which says that the empress Pulcheria (5th century) built the original oratory after two blind people were miraculously cured at the spring; the monks were introduced by Constantine V.

¹⁰⁶ *Theophanes Continuatus*, p. 339; see above, p. 29 and n. 74. Apparently, the *diakonia* bath was still there in the eleventh century: see *The Life of Leontios Patriarch of Jerusalem*, ed. and tr. D. Tsougarakis (Leiden 1993), pp. 150–51, p. 211.

¹⁰⁷ On this, see also my 'Constantinopolitana', pp. 225–6 (no. VIII in this volume).

embolos of Dominos (Appendix I, no. 4) there were none around the forums of Constantine and Theodosius. Is this because the baths needed to be well below the level of the aqueduct and water cisterns, or have chance survivals given us a false impression of where the baths were? Their location does not seem to coincide with either the greatest density of churches, or – apart from the Blachernae *diakonia* – with the other services to be found on church premises: notarial offices and schools.

The notarial offices

The first chapter of the *Book of the Eparch* describes how the legal profession was organised within the City. One paragraph specifies that there should be no more than 25 *taboullarioi*, equal to the number of offices called *stationes* or *keathedrai*.¹⁰⁸ A couple of paragraphs identify among the notarial offices or in addition to them (it is not clearly specified) where the masters of law, the *nomikoi*, taught with their assistants (παιδοδιδάσκαλοι νομικοί). Each master was elected by his colleagues and then appointed as the head of his confraternity by the Prefect before taking control of the traditional premises (νομή ἀρχαία).¹⁰⁹ Wanda Wolska-Conus's article on education,¹¹⁰ and Helene Saradi's book on Byzantine notaries¹¹¹ have explained the vocabulary used by these institutions. But to understand the urban geography of the legal profession and its institutional framework we need to look at later documentation: six private deeds drawn up in Constantinople around the year 1100 and now in the archives at Patmos and Athos, and a letter by John Apokaukos relating to a cleric who had worked as a notary in Constantinople before 1204. Wanda Wolska-Conus was not able to use the critical edition of the *Acts of Iviron* which is enormously useful for studying the institutional map of the notarial profession; on the other hand, Saradi did know these documents but did not see all the conclusions that could be drawn from them. These documents tell us about five inns of law:

1. A *nome* linked to an office at the church of the Forty Martyrs.¹¹²
2. Another *nome* linked to an office at the church of the Blachernae.¹¹³

¹⁰⁸ *Ep. Bibl.*, I 23; cf. I p. 3, p. 9, p. 25.

¹⁰⁹ *Ep. Bibl.*, I p. 13, p. 15, p. 16.

¹¹⁰ W. Wolska-Conu, 'Les termes νομή et παιδοδιδάσκαλος du *Livre de l'Éparque*', *TM* 8 (1981), pp. 531–41.

¹¹¹ H. Saradi, *Le notariat byzantin du IX^e au XV^e siècles* (Athens 1991).

¹¹² *Iviron* II, nos. p. 44, p. 46.

¹¹³ *Lavra* I, no. 42, *Iviron* II, no. 49.

3. An office at the church of the Virgin in the Forum of Constantine.¹¹⁴
4. An office at the church of Hagia Eirene at Perama.¹¹⁵
5. An office (*station*) at the church of the Theotokos of the Diakonissa, which was probably also associated with another legal practice.¹¹⁶

In addition we find clerks from other churches – St Panteleimon¹¹⁷ and St Mamas¹¹⁸ – holding the title *taboullarios*/*tabellion* or *notarios* and witnessing legal documents, although we do not know if they had public practices at these locations.

From this brief insight it is clear that, as a general rule, legal practices and law schools were based within church precincts. This does not necessarily imply, as Saradi suggested, that a ‘medieval’ transformation had taken place since the early Byzantine period: we should at least make a distinction between the ecclesiastical affiliation of the staff, which was probably a later development, and the legal offices’ dependence on the church, which might well date from the earlier period. The five churches listed above were all in existence at the time of the *Book of the Prefect*. Hagia Eirene in Perama dates to the fifth century.¹¹⁹ The complex surrounding the church of the Blachernae, founded in the same period, was enlarged by Justin II, Tiberius and Maurice; the two latter also added the baths there.¹²⁰ They also founded the church of the Forty Martyrs, where

¹¹⁴ *Iviron* II, nos. 44, 47. Despite the editors’ hesitation (*ibid.*, p. 168), the existence of an office here seems certain in view of the fact that the *notarios* John Φορίτης (of the Forum) authenticated the copy of no. 44 and drew up the original of no. 47 which was witnessed by the judge (*krites*) and *taboullarios* Constantine, also called Φορίτης. See the following note for an identical combination at Perama.

¹¹⁵ MM, VI, pp. 93–4: act drawn up by John, *notarios* to the *taboullarios* at Perama, and witnessed by the same *taboullarios*, Eulampios, who is also designated as *krites* and *Hagioeirenites*.

¹¹⁶ John Apokaukos, ed. N.A. Bees, ‘Unedierte Schriftstücke’, p. 108, p. 109, p. 111; for the grammar school beside this church, see below, p. 41.

¹¹⁷ *Iviron* II, no. 47: the witnesses include one Constantine Loupadiotes, priest of St Panteleimon τῶν Σοφιῶν, followed by John, βασιλικῶ κληρικῶ καὶ νοταρίου τοῦ Σοφιῶτου. Given the position of St Panteleimon near the port of Julian and next to a large hospital (a very similar situation to St Eirene at Perama), it seems very likely that there was also a notarial office there too.

¹¹⁸ *Iviron* II, no. 44. I think this must refer to the church of SS. Mamas and Basilikos *ta Dareiou*, which was near the church of the Forty Martyrs where the act was drawn up, rather than the monastery of St Mamas which was quite far away: Berger, *Untersuchungen*, p. 435.

¹¹⁹ Janin, *Églises*, pp. 106–7; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 447–9.

¹²⁰ Janin, *Églises*, pp. 161–71; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 534–42.

there was a legal practice by Theophilos' time (829–842),¹²¹ and the patriarch Kyriakos, Maurice's contemporary, founded the church of the Diakonissa in 598.¹²² Only the church of the Virgin in the Forum was a much more recent foundation.¹²³ It is striking that three of these foundations take us back once again to the half century after Justinian. We know from a papyrus that there was a notarial office in the Great Church under Justinian himself.¹²⁴ From all this we can conclude that the association of notaries with churches dates back to the sixth century and that church founders in this period were aware of it, perhaps even to the extent of making provision for notarial business and education within the church precincts.

It is clear from the eleventh-century documentation that the use of the singular in the phrase ἐν νομῇ ἀρχαία in the *Book of the Prefect* does not, as Wolska-Conus thought, refer to a single notarial office which she believed was at the church of St Theodore *ta Sphorakiou*, where, according to the anonymous narrative on Leo V, the future patriarch Antony Kassymatas had taught grammar before 821.¹²⁵ The *Acts of Iviron* have revealed two other *nomai* – at the Blachernae and the Forty-Martyrs. The latter is particularly significant as it gives a solid foundation for the impression given by the *Book of the Prefect* that there was a very close association not only between legal practice and legal training, but also between basic legal education and general education, the *enkyklios paidaieia*, both essential for training notaries.¹²⁶ We now know that in the eleventh century the church of the Forty Martyrs had all three elements: a legal practice, a law school and a secondary school providing general education.¹²⁷ The set-up at the Forty Martyrs suggests that there may have been similar combinations at other churches where at least one of these elements was present. Hence, it would not be surprising to find a legal practice at the church of Sphorakiou and a *nome* along with the legal practice at the church of the Diakonissa, especially since schools are attested at both locations in the

¹²¹ Berger, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 319–21; Περὶ τῶν ἀγαθοεργιῶν Θεοφίλου τοῦ βασιλέως, ed. Regel, *Analecta Byzantino-russica*, p. 42.

¹²² Janin, *Églises*, pp. 174–5; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 328–9.

¹²³ By Basil I: the Continuator of Theophanes, p. 339; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 375–6.

¹²⁴ P. Cairo byz. 67032, ed. J. Maspéro, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire; Papyrus grecs d'époque Byzantine*, I (Cairo 1911), p. 70.

¹²⁵ *Scriptor incertus de Leone Armenio*, Bonn, p. 350; Wolska-Conus (cited n. 110), p. 538.

¹²⁶ *Ep. Bibl.*, I p. 2. For the *enkyklios paidaieia*, see Lemerle, *Byzantine Humanism*, p. 112 n. 88, and A. Moffat, 'Early Byzantine School Curricula and a Liberal Education', *Mélanges I. Dujčev* (Paris 1979), pp. 275–88.

¹²⁷ On the secondary school, see Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 229.

eleventh century.¹²⁸ Although there is no evidence for a school providing the *enkyklios paideia* at the church of the Blachernae, the fact that the church had a *nome* makes the existence of one highly likely.

Secondary education

So, we have yet another school to add to the list drawn up by Robert Browning and Paul Lemerle and yet more proof, if any were needed, that 'public' schools in medieval Constantinople were attached to churches.¹²⁹ The association of schools with churches is much better known than the link with lawyers, but, just as for the lawyers, the late date of our source material for schools, most of which comes from eleventh-century literary texts, explains why historians have been reluctant to date the church connection back to the early period. However, this connection is already noticeable towards the end of the iconoclastic period. As we have seen, there was already a school at the church of Sphorakiou by 821. The story of Leo the Philosopher shows that there was a school at the Forty Martyrs in the same period: if Theophilos appointed Leo as a professor at this church there must have been some kind of school there.¹³⁰ A hagiographical account, published recently by Wolfgang Lackner, shows that there were schools up and running at Hagia Sophia and the church of the Chalkoprateia during Tarasios' patriarchate (784–806) in the first years of the medieval revival.¹³¹

Does it automatically follow that these schools were brand new and were set up in the second half of the eighth century? This is possible, but if so we need to explain where classes were held before, since education never completely ceased: the production of hagiography, homilies and theology and the unbroken administration of the state itself are all testimony to this.¹³² The appearance of church-dependent schools needs to be set against the disappearance of the

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 228–9, pp. 230–31.

¹²⁹ Besides Lemerle, *Cinq études*, pp. 227–35, see R. Browning, 'The Patriarchal School at Constantinople in the Twelfth Century', *Byz.* 32 (1962), pp. 170–78, reprinted in *idem, Studies on Byzantine Literature and Education* (London 1977).

¹³⁰ *Theophanes Continuatus*, p. 189; Skylitzes, ed. Thurn, p. 103.

¹³¹ Ed. W. Lackner, 'Ein byzantinisches Marienmirakel', *Byzantinav*, 13, 2 (1985), pp. 833–60, especially p. 852. The school (*didaskaleion*) is mentioned in the *Book of Ceremonies: De cer.*, I p. 39, ed. and tr. Vogt, I, p. 155 (Reiske, p. 167).

¹³² See Lemerle, *Byzantine Humanism*, chap. 4, and A. Moffatt, 'Schooling in the Iconoclast Centuries', in *Iconoclasm*, ed. A. Bryer and J. Herrin ed. (Birmingham 1977), pp. 85–92.

secular institutions of higher education, the 'Mouseion' at the Capitol,¹³³ and the *didaskaleion* at the Imperial Basilica. We lose track of the Capitol after Tiberius (578–582), who may have renovated it,¹³⁴ and the revival of teaching activity at the Basilica under Heraclius appears to have been short-lived.¹³⁵ The tale of the burning of the *didaskaleion* and its professors by Leo III (717–741) is an anti-iconoclast fantasy, but it surely echoes the fact of the institution's demise by the early eighth century.¹³⁶ The complex was certainly in a ruinous state by the time of the patriarchate of Tarasios (784–806), who according to his *Life* by Ignatios the Deacon used it for the distribution of rations to the poor on Easter Sunday.¹³⁷ a use suggestive of encroachment by the Church, and specifically by the neighbouring churches of Chalkoprateia and Sphorakiou, which adjoined the Basilica to the north and south respectively.¹³⁸ Is it coincidence that these were the very churches where schools are first attested in the late eighth and early ninth centuries?

Whatever the fate of the Capitol and the Basilica, the question is whether the emergence of medieval system of education was the cause or the effect. I think it evolved in a similar way to the baths, where old institutions finally gave way to new institutions which had gradually developed over a long period of time. Even if the Basilica and the Capitol shared a monopoly on higher education in the sixth century, it is not clear that secondary education – and the distinction is not clear-cut – was quite so localised. If we look at the availability of suitable

¹³³ For this monumental structure at the fork in the central avenue, known later as the Philadelphion, and the 'University' that it housed in the fifth and sixth centuries, see Mango, *Développement*, p. 30; idem, 'The Triumphal way of Constantinople and the golden gate', p. 177; Bauer, *Stadt, Platz und denkmal*, pp. 228–33; and most importantly, Feissel, 'Le Philadelphion de Constantinople', pp. 495–515, who proves that the 'University' was called the Mouseion.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 515–21.

¹³⁵ This can be inferred from the 'Dialogue between Philosophy and History' by Theophylact of Simokatta, ed. de Boor, pp. 20–22; cf. Lemerle, *Byzantine Humanism*, p. 85.

¹³⁶ Lemerle, *Byzantine Humanism*, p. 102–5; P. Speck, *Die kaiserliche Universität von Konstantinopel* (Munich 1974), chap. 9 and appendix.

¹³⁷ Ed. and tr. S. Efthymiadis, *The Life of the Patriarch Tarasios by Ignatios the Deacon* (Aldershot 1998), §23, p. 97, pp. 180–81.

¹³⁸ The proximity of the two churches is clear from the various versions of the iconodule legend of the burning of the *didaskaleion*, and its professors, by Leo III: according to George the Monk (ed. de Boor, II, p. 742) it was a palace 'by the royal cistern which is next to the Chalkoprateia'; according to the *Patria* (III 31, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, p. 226) it was the Octagon 'next to the Basilica', which another notice places next to St Theodore *ta Sphorakiou* (*ibid.*, III p. 93, p. 200). In fact the Octagon had been destroyed, at the same time as the church, by the fire of 532 (*Chron. Pasch.* p. 623) so the iconodule legend probably records a confusion between the two fires. This confusion shows that the Octagon, unlike the church, was never rebuilt: Berger's assertion that it was (Berger, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 282–3) is unfounded.

teaching space at the time, it soon becomes clear that buildings attached to rapidly expanding churches were preferable to all other types of urban space for practical as much as for ideological and moral reasons. An informal link between the church and primary education can be seen in a legend of a young Jewish boy which was very widespread at the end of the sixth century: the story was set near Hagia Sophia under Justinian during the patriarchate of Menas (536–552); the boy offended his father by partaking, along with his class-mates, of the leftover bread and wine from Holy Communion.¹³⁹ At Alexandria and Trebizond towards the end of the century, the great masters lived and taught next door to churches.¹⁴⁰ Was it any different in Constantinople? Was this not a more general phenomenon caused by christianisation of urban life and the decline in municipal finances? Both these processes were completed under Justinian and his successors who were all staunch champions of Orthodoxy and great church builders.¹⁴¹ The majority of the churches which had schools in the eleventh and twelfth centuries were completed under these emperors:¹⁴² Hagia Sophia and St Theodore of Sphorakiou were rebuilt after the 532 fire; the church of St Peter, an annex of Hagia Sophia, cannot be much later; the church of the Holy Apostles was rebuilt by Justinian; the Chalkoprateia was enlarged by Justin II; as we have seen, the churches of the Forty Martyrs and the Diakonissa date from the reign of the emperor Maurice who, according to the *Patria*, also added a church dedicated to St George to the Sphorakiou complex.¹⁴³ There is nothing here to suggest that these founders or renovators planned to set up schools at these churches, but it is a seductive hypothesis especially as Maurice's reign had such an impact on these churches. It is worth recalling that the three chief examples of the new type of public baths were founded by this emperor or members of his circle.

For whatever reason, there was definitely a clear model for medieval patrons who wanted to continue the work of yesteryear. Did Basil I set up a school

¹³⁹ Evagrius Scholasticus, *Ecclesiastical History* IV, p. 36, ed. J. Bidez and L. Parmentier (London 1898), pp. 185–6; tr. M. Whitby (Liverpool 2000), pp. 241–2; George the Monk, ed. C. de Boor, II, pp. 654–6; cf. Thomas Nissen, 'Zu den ältesten Fassungen der Legende vom Judenknaben', *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*, 62 (1939), p. 393.

¹⁴⁰ See the accounts of John Moschos and Ananias of Shirak cited by Wolska-Conus (cit. supra n. 110), p. 538 n. 39.

¹⁴¹ See the grievances of Procopius, *Anecdota*, XXVI, pp. 5–11, and Zonaras, XIV, p. 6, pp. 31–2, which should be seen in the context of the creation of an imperial *oikos* for financing 'new churches': M. Kaplan, 'Nouvelle de Tibère II sur les "maisons divines"', *TM* 8 (1981) 239 l. 40; cf. Magdalino, 'Observations on the Nea', p. 54.

¹⁴² See Janin, *Églises*, pp. 41–9, pp. 152–3, pp. 237–42, pp. 398–9, pp. 455–70; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 280–82, pp. 301–4, pp. 415–17; cf. above, p. 30.

¹⁴³ *Patria*, III 30, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, p. 225.

at his New Church,¹⁴⁴ and perhaps also at the church of the Prophet Elijah in Petriion which he restored,¹⁴⁵ out of a desire to imitate his sixth-century predecessors? Perhaps Basil's example, in turn, inspired John I Tzimiskes, if we accept that the Chalke school is the same date as the church.¹⁴⁶ Constantine IX Monomachos founded the Mangana law school at the same time as the church and monastery.¹⁴⁷ At first sight, it seems that the grammar school founded, according to his daughter, by Alexios I Komnenos when he renovated the old church of SS Peter and Paul of the Orphanage was a slightly different case.¹⁴⁸ But how could an orphanage have done without a school for so many centuries? After asking this question it seems obvious that Alexios must have refounded an older institution. This institution was originally founded in the fourth century by St Zotikos, but was substantially expanded by Justin II who built the church of the two chief Apostles in 572¹⁴⁹ and in all likelihood added the college of *diakonissai* which Anna Komnene attributed to her father's initiative.¹⁵⁰ So, for the most part Alexios simply followed Justin's initial plan.

The Great Palace and the *oikoi*

We have already commented on the *longue durée* of the great administrative and ceremonial complex at the centre of Byzantine public life. The three core structures in this complex were the Hippodrome, the Great Church of Hagia Sophia with the adjacent Patriarchate, and the Great Palace; they represented,

¹⁴⁴ *Antologia Graeca*, VII p. 327, p. 334, p. 429; cf. Magdalino, 'Observations on the Nea'.

¹⁴⁵ *MB*, VIII, p. 145 (unless the reference is to the school at the Nea).

¹⁴⁶ Janin, *Églises*, pp. 29–30; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 269–70.

¹⁴⁷ Lemerle, *Cinq études*, pp. 207–11; Oikonomides, 'St George of Mangana'; cf. below p. 72, pp. 85–6.

¹⁴⁸ Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, XV 7. pp. 3–9, ed. Reinsch-Kambylis, pp. 481–5.

¹⁴⁹ *Patria*, III 47, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, p. 235; Theophanes, p. 244. A Novel attributed to Leo VI gives interesting details of the endowment of the foundation by Justin: ed. P. Noailles and A. Dain, *Les Nouvelles de Léon VI le Sage* (Paris 1944), pp. 377–8.

¹⁵⁰ *Alexiad*, XV 7.8, ed. Kambylis-Reinsch, p. 484. Clearly this was not for deaconesses but for *asketriai*, who were called *diakonissai* at the time: see Balsamon, in *RP*, II, pp. 255–6, and the *Synopsis Chronike* (*MB*, VII, pp. 177–8) which talks about an ἀσκητήριον or παρθενών. *Asketriai* are attested at the Orphanage in the ninth century by a text which mentions them in relation to the funeral of a young girl, τῶν ἐξ ἔθους τοῦ Ὀρφανοτροφείου ψαλτῶν καὶ ἀσκητριῶν εἰς τὸ κηδεῦσαι αὐτὴν προσκληθέντων: *Life of St Antony the Younger*, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, PPS 57 (St Petersburg 1907), pp. 211–12. They seem to have performed the functions set out by Justinian (Nov. 59) for the *asketriai* at the Great Church. Perhaps Justin II allocated to the Orphanage the two *asketeria* from the church of Hagia Eirene whose buildings had been destroyed by the fire of 564 (Theophanes, p. 240).

respectively, the civic tradition, divine authority, and imperial power that constituted Byzantine identity. If the Hippodrome was the most 'Roman' of the three¹⁵¹ and Hagia Sophia the most innovative and overwhelming, the Great Palace of the emperors was the most extensive, diverse, and complex.¹⁵² A labyrinth of halls, chambers, chapels, barracks, service buildings, corridors and courtyards, the Palace sprawled down a series of terraces over the whole space between the Hippodrome and the Sea of Marmara. Much remains unclear about its development and layout; this is not the place to attempt a synthetic presentation of a picture that is being continually modified by new insights,¹⁵³ new archaeological discoveries,¹⁵⁴ and ongoing study of the crucial textual evidence in Constantine Porphyrogenetos' *Book of Ceremonies*.¹⁵⁵ However, in the light of the argument so far, it is essential to emphasise the importance of the very last phase of Late Antiquity in the development of the Palace, as of other parts of the City. Once again, we should highlight the contribution made by Justinian's successors. Justin II built the Chrysotriklinos, the great domed octagonal hall which was, to some extent, the secular counterpart to Justinian's Hagia Sophia.¹⁵⁶ The 'Golden Throne-Room' became not only the hub of

¹⁵¹ That the continued existence of the Hippodrome with its games and its supporter factions corresponded to a long-standing and deep-rooted tradition of civic organisation has been demonstrated by recent study of the roles of the factions in provincial cities, as revealed by inscriptions at Aphrodisias and Ephesus: see C.M. Roueché, *Performers and Partisans at Aphrodisias* (London 1993); eadem, 'Looking for Late Antique Ceremonial: Ephesus and Aphrodisias', in H. Friesinger and F. Krinzinger (eds.), *100 Jahre Österreichischer Forschungen in Ephesos*, Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 260 (Vienna 1999), pp. 161–8. This significantly revises the conclusions of Alan Cameron, *Circus factions* (Oxford 1976); cf. also, for tenth-century Constantinople, the new interpretation of the Bamberg silk by G. Prinzing, 'Das Bamberger Guntertuch in neuer Sicht', *BStL* 54, 1 (1993), pp. 227–31. In this connection, one may note that the two chief factions, the Blues and the Greens, each had 'their' church in the centre of the commercial district. The Diakonissa was the Greens' church, while the Blues' church was εἰς τὸν Ταγιστέα, that is to say near the ancient baths of Dagistheus, probably the church of St Anastasia: *De cer.*, ed. Reiske, p. 357, p. 590; see above, n. 92.

¹⁵² For a brief summary, see the entry by C. Mango in *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. A.P. Kazhdan, (Oxford-New York 1991), pp. 869–70.

¹⁵³ J. Bardill, 'The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors and the Walker Trust Excavations', *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 12 (1999), pp. 217–30; E. Bolognesi Recchi-Franceschini, 'The Great Palace of Constantinople', in W. Jobst, R. Kastler, V. Scheibelreiter (eds.) *Neue Forschungen und Restaurierungen im byzantinischen Kaiserpalast von Istanbul* (Vienna 1999), pp. 9–16; eadem 'The Boundaries of the Palace: *De Cerimoniis* II, 13', *Travaux et Mémoires*, 14 (2002), pp. 37–46.

¹⁵⁴ Notably the sub-structures of a building in the vicinity of the Magnaura: Mango, *Développement*, pp. 75–6.

¹⁵⁵ At the Centre d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, Collège de France, Paris.

¹⁵⁶ Leo the Grammarian, pp. 137–8; Kedrenos, I, p. 690; cf. Averil Cameron, 'Images of Authority: Elites and Icons in late Sixth-Century Byzantium', *Past and Present*, 84 (1979), p. 17,

court ceremonial, but also the nucleus around which various other buildings were eventually added, to form an ensemble, the Palace of the Boukoleon, that eventually superseded the old Palace of Constantine on the upper level to the north.¹⁵⁷ The iconographic decoration of the Chrysotriklinos inaugurated a new phase in official ideology, and the restoration of this programme under Michael III (843–867) marked a watershed in the defeat of iconoclasm.¹⁵⁸ Justin II's successor Tiberius II, who finished the decoration of the Chrysotriklinos, is also said to have carried out extensive building works in the Palace, according to the reliable contemporary evidence of John of Ephesus. As he did not want to force Sophia, Justin's widow, to move out of the main part of the Palace (presumably the Chrysotriklinos and its surroundings), Tiberius modified the 'north side' of the complex to create a suitable residence for an emperor and his family; he tore down and replaced 'many great buildings' and filled the site of the former palace garden with 'very sizable constructions', including a bath-house and stables.¹⁵⁹ No later source associates any part of the palace with Tiberius, but it is possible that his buildings survived in some other guise. Looking to the north of the Chrysotriklinos we are led, in one direction, to the long hall attributed to Justinian II in his first reign (685–95) and named after him.¹⁶⁰ In another direction, we encounter various ceremonial structures with which *Theophanes Continuatus* credits Theophilos (829–843),¹⁶¹ and a series of buildings that the *Patria* much less plausibly attributes to Constantine the Great.¹⁶² They included the three main financial offices of the ninth century (Genikon, Idikon, and Vestiaron),¹⁶³ a bath known as the Katoptron, and the Oaton or Troullos, a large domed administrative building (*sekreton*) that housed the fiscal archive

reprinted in eadem, *Continuity and Change*.

¹⁵⁷ Mango, 'The Palace of the Boukoleon'. The important buildings adjoining the Chrysotriklinos included the imperial bedchamber, and the church of the Pharos: Magdalino, 'L'église du Phare'.

¹⁵⁸ *Anthologia Graeca*, I 106; tr. Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, p. 184.

¹⁵⁹ John of Ephesus, *Hist. eccl.*, III 23, tr. Brooks, 111; cf. C. Mango, *Art Bulletin* 42 (1960), p. 69.

¹⁶⁰ Theophanes, p. 367, mentioning also Justinian's construction of a wall around the Palace. Less reliably, the *Patria* (III 130, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, p. 257) also credits Justinian with building the Lausiakos, closer to the Chrysotriklinos.

¹⁶¹ *Theophanes Continuatus*, 139ff; Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, pp. 161–3. The buildings were the Sigma (a semicircular portico), the Triconch and the Karianos.

¹⁶² *Patria*, I 61, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, p. 145.

¹⁶³ See Brandes, *Finanzverwaltung*, pp. 165–225. The Idikon (or Eidikon) lay close to the Chrysotriklinos complex, but on a higher level, near the buildings of Theophilos: *De cer.*, I p. 23, ed. and tr. Vogt, I, p. 84. Niketas Choniates, ed. van Dieten, p. 442, mentions the demolition of the magnificent building of the Genikon by Isaac II (1185–1195). According to *Theophanes*

of the *sakelle* in the tenth and eleventh centuries, after serving as the venue for the Sixth Ecumenical Council (680–1) and the Quinisext Council of 691–2.¹⁶⁴ What is remarkable here is the concentration of financial ‘ministries’ at the north-eastern confines of the Great Palace: a phenomenon clearly related to the complete transformation of the Empire’s financial administration in the crisis of the seventh to ninth centuries. The institutions housed in these buildings emerged – perhaps later rather than sooner – from the dissolution, after 629, of the Empire’s main public administrative organisation, the Praetorian Prefecture of the East, and their locations presumably reflect the abandonment of the Prefecture’s separate Praetorium to the north of Hagia Eirene.¹⁶⁵ It is very unlikely that their offices were purpose-built during the crisis years of the Dark Ages, and it makes more sense to suppose they occupied existing buildings. These buildings might originally have housed older financial departments of the Palace, such as the now redundant *sacrae largitiones*, or they might have been adapted from residential use – in this case the fairly recent structures put up by Tiberius II would have been prime candidates. Either way, it is clear that while crisis and change disrupted the existence of some structures, they ensured the maintenance, if not the creation, of others, and generally enhanced the vitality of the Palace.

The Palace, a worthy predecessor to the Kremlin, was separated from the City not only by the walls with which emperors surrounded it from time to time, but by the exclusive nature of the community who lived and worked in its hallowed halls and lived off its dedicated resources. At the same time, it was integrated into urban life in various ways: by the comings and goings of processions and receptions,¹⁶⁶ by the influx of litigants and petitioners to the law-courts and ministries at the edge of the palace complex, and by the network of official or aristocratic *oikoi* from which imperial functionaries either commuted to work at the court,¹⁶⁷ or exercised delegated authority. Some were adjacent to the palace,

Continuatus (pp. 260–61), it lay outside and below the Palace, though it is not clear whether this means the Chrysotriklinos or the Magnaura.

¹⁶⁴ R. Riedinger, *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, 2nd series, II, 1 (Berlin 1992), p. 14; RP, II, p. 295; *Vie d’Étienne le Jeune*, ed. and tr. Auzépy, p. 145, p. 243; *De cer.*, ed. Reiske, p. 545, p. 567, p. 593; Zepos, I, p. 334; cf. Fr. Dölger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Finanzverwaltung, besonders des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig 1927), p. 26, n.1). The dome of the Oaton was decorated with a mosaic of Christ: ed. E. Kurtz, *Die Gedichte des Christophoros Mithylenaios* (Leipzig 1903), p. 62. The building still existed in 1180 when the betrothal celebration of Alexios II and Agnes of France was held there: William of Tyre, ed. Huygens, pp. 1010–11.

¹⁶⁵ Mango, *Studies on Constantinople*, Addenda, 1–3.

¹⁶⁶ J. Herrin, ‘Byzance: le palais et la ville’, *Byz.* 61 (1991), 213–30.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. A.P. Kazhdan, M. McCormick, ‘The Social World of the Byzantine Court’, in Maguire (ed.), *Byzantine Court Culture*, 185–7.

others were scattered throughout the town and suburbs. The importance of these large residences in the development of Constantinople can be seen in the way that the names of their original owners, administrators or dignitaries of the Late Empire, became permanently attached to neighbourhoods of the medieval city, arousing a curiosity which the *Patria* sought to satisfy.¹⁶⁸ Usually the original *oikos* became a religious foundation, but sometimes it stayed in the hands of a layman. In narrating the City's foundation myths (especially in the legend of the twelve senators who came to Constantinople after Constantine built them precise replicas of their houses in Rome), the patriographer takes care to link the name of the original owner with that of the current occupant.¹⁶⁹ Another notice in the *Patria*, about the Cistern of Aspar, notes that the house of Aspar was the building now occupied by Basil the *parakoimomenos*.¹⁷⁰ Should this be seen as evidence of some ideologically-driven antiquarian whimsy bent on finding the ancient past in everything, or is it an indication of the true age of a building, evident at the time from its appearance as well as its name? Archaeology so far has provided few answers. Romanos I's Myrelaion was built on the razed remains of a large ancient rotunda: this was clearly a later replacement of an older structure that was obliterated in the process, along with its name.¹⁷¹ On the other hand, the remains of the palace of Antiochos, which kept its name (*ta Antiochou*) after its conversion into the church of St Euphemia,¹⁷² show that a great Theodosian *oikos* could be adapted for religious use without being demolished.¹⁷³ Lay owners would have had even more reason to maintain ancient buildings that were undoubtedly more solid than anything that medieval builders could erect in their place. A case in point may be the building called τὰ Κώνστα or τὰ Κώνσταντος, where St Stephen the Younger was born around 715: no doubt the 'immense buildings' (παμμεγέθεις οἰκίαι)

¹⁶⁸ See Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale*, pp. 503–6, pp. 511–13, p. 525 ff.: idem, 'Le christianisme dans la ville Byzantine', pp. 8–9; Mango, 'Development', pp. 126–8; Magdalino, 'Oikos'.

¹⁶⁹ *Patria*, I 63–7, 71, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, pp. 146–8, pp. 149–50; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 220–26, pp. 230–32.

¹⁷⁰ *Patria*, II 71, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, p. 188; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 612–13.

¹⁷¹ See above, pp. 24–5. It is possible that the rotunda was a key part of the secular *oikos* of Krateros and Romanos Lekapenos, and that after it became a religious foundation the rotunda was converted into a cistern.

¹⁷² *Syn CP*, pp. 47–9, 811–13.

¹⁷³ See R. Naumann, H. Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche am Hippodrom zu Istanbul* (Berlin 1966). The remains of another palace were discovered to the north of the church. This was until recently identified with the Palace of Lausus, but its identity now appears uncertain: see J. Bardill, 'The Palace of Lausus and Nearby Monuments in Constantinople: A Topographical Study', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 101 (1997), pp. 67–95.

mentioned in the *Life* were buildings from centuries earlier.¹⁷⁴ It is possible, although not verifiable, that Stephen knew the family of St Theodore Stoudites, another great defender of icons, who occupied what was apparently the same house (τὸν οἶκον τὸν τὰ Κώνστα καλούμενον) when he was tonsured in 781.¹⁷⁵ In the tenth century the author of the *Patria* identified this *oikos* for his readers as ‘the house of Toubakes and Iberitzes, that Akropolites now possesses’.¹⁷⁶ This succession of names reveals, if I am not mistaken, another characteristic trait which could contribute to the conservation of the ancient appearance of these old residences: a high turnover of occupants. The house of the Parakoimomenos, mentioned above, is the best evidence for this: from other sources it is clear that this no-doubt imposing house in the Arkadianai quarter was assigned to a series of dignitaries before passing into Basil’s hands.¹⁷⁷ Whether or not the original owner was in fact called Aspar, this was certainly the house of a high official in the late Empire which became the property of the fisc and was then granted to others at the emperor’s pleasure. John of Ephesus gives examples of this practice under Emperor Maurice.¹⁷⁸ Maurice gave to his own brother Peter all the properties belonging to Justin II’s brother Marcellus, ‘which were hardly inferior to the emperor’s own ...his houses, lands, his gold, his silver, his treasure.’ Maurice’s mother and father received a house near the Palace and Great Church. The emperor’s sister, Gordia, and her husband Philippikos were given ‘the great and immense house situated in the western part of the City which is called Zeugma’, a house named after Hilara, a woman of senatorial rank, who had bequeathed it to Justinian.¹⁷⁹ Maurice

¹⁷⁴ *Vie d’Étienne le Jeune*, ed. and tr. Auzépy, p. 91, p. 182; for the location, see my ‘Aristocratic *oikoi*’, pp. 65–6 (no. II in this volume).

¹⁷⁵ *Vita*, version C, ed. B. Latysev, *Виз. Врем.* 21 (1914), p. 262; cf. the introduction to the edition of Theodore’s letters by G. Fatouros, I, p. 5* ff., in particular p. 8*. It seems likely that Theodore’s father, a courtier (PG 99, col. 236), received the house as a gift from Constantine V, and that as a result the family could not dispose of it as freely as the hagiographer says, in stating that the house was given to the poor, along with the rest of the family’s property.

¹⁷⁶ *Patria*, I 71, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, pp. 149–50.

¹⁷⁷ Namely Constantine Barbaros, Krikorikios and Apoganem, princes of Taron: Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *DAI*, 43, ed. Moravcsik, tr. Jenkins (Washington DC 1968), p. 192 ff; cf. Ševčenko, ‘Re-reading Constantine Porphyrogenitus’, p. 191. For the location of the house, see, the *Life of St Basil the Younger*, ed. Vilinskij, p. 300.

¹⁷⁸ *Hist. Eccl., pars tertia*, V, 23, tr. Brooks, p. 203–4.

¹⁷⁹ Procopius, *Anecdota*, XII 5; see below, p. 51. It is unlikely that this house was the one Philippikos built in Constantinople and which bore his name (Kedrenos, I, p. 698: καὶ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει δὲ ἔκτισε τὸν οἶκον τὸν λεγόμενον τοῦ Φιλίππικου).

gave his other sister, the widow Theoktiste, the house that had belonged to Justinian's minister Peter Barsymes.¹⁸⁰

The emperors assigned houses to members of the court according to their rank. This is shown in a passage where Michael Psellos describes the beginning of his friendship with Constantine Doukas when he became secretary to the emperor Constantine IX Monomachos: 'As I needed a more sumptuous lifestyle and a more splendid house to go with it, the emperor did not neglect my interests in this regard either, but even gave me my friend's [former] residence in exchange'.¹⁸¹ The emperor also provided accommodation for the Palace clergy, and according to the tenth-century *Life of St Nikephoros of Miletos, basilikoi oikoi* near the Hippodrome were reserved for them.¹⁸² From this it is clear that there were a certain number of houses in the city which – just like the *proasteia* in the suburbs – had a succession of occupiers without ever becoming private property.

As a result we should expect there to be frequent changes in the name, ownership and usage of buildings, and there is a danger that this may create an inflated idea of the number of genuinely new foundations. It would be prudent to apply Ockham's razor to the sources, especially when reading about the deeds of any emperor described as an 'innovator' or 'renovator'. Unless there is clear evidence to the contrary, the analysis of information about any built site should always look for the continuous re-use of a single establishment in preference to the creation of multiple establishments side by side. In some cases the continuity is more evident than in others, but it can almost never be ruled out:

- The imperial *oikos* of the Mangana is described in the biography of Basil I as one of his foundations, but other sources tell us that it was successively the home of Michael I Rangabe before he came to the throne in 811, an imperial *oikos* from his deposition in 813 to 843, and the home of the patriarch Ignatios (Michael's son) who gave it to Basil

¹⁸⁰ See Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 351.

¹⁸¹ Ed. and French tr. Renault, II, p. 142.

¹⁸² Ed. Delehaye, *An. Boll.* 14 (1895), p. 140–41. The clergy also had lodgings within the Palace precinct in a hall built or restored by Theophilos, but possibly they only slept here on the nights before they were due to officiate at early morning services: *Theophanes Continuatus*, p. 143; cf. also *ibid.*, p. 38, and A. Kazhdan- M. McCormick, 'The Social World of the Byzantine Court', in Maguire (ed.), *Byzantine Court Culture*, 186. Nicholas Mesarites, sacristan of the palatine churches in 1200, lived near but outside the Great Palace: ed. A. Heisenberg, *Die Palastrevolution des Johannes Komnenos*, Program des königlichen alten Gymnasiums zu Würzburg für das Studienjahr 1906/1907 (Würzburg 1907), pp. 25–7.

at some point between 867 and 877.¹⁸³ It seems that both Michael and Ignatios held the property as private individuals, but how had it come into Michael's possession? In all probability, as a result of a past imperial donation following the dissolution of the convent of St Olympias that happened at some point after the patriarchate of Sergios I (610–638). It emerges from the account of the translation of the saint's body that the convent owned the Mangana *oikia*, which it had acquired by 532 at the latest.¹⁸⁴ Evidently it was a house which had originally belonged to some dignitary in the fourth or fifth century.¹⁸⁵

- The *Neos Oikos*, which is also described in the *Vita Basilii* as one of Basil I's foundations, probably originated as the Palace of the Theodosian princess Marina.¹⁸⁶ Leo VI restored its bath-house and two texts say he built it from scratch. According to the *Patria*, which calls it the Bath of the Oikonomeion and says it was the work of Constantine the Great, the building was demolished by John I Tzimiskes (969–976).¹⁸⁷ But this was not the end of the *oikos*: it was in the 'palace of the Oikonomeion' that Basil II celebrated the marriage of John, the son of Doge Peter II Orseolo, to Maria Argyropoulaina who received the palace in dowry

¹⁸³ *Theophanes Continuatus*, p. 337, see also p. 12; PG 105, col. 540; *Life of St Niketas of Medikion*, in *AASS*, April I, p. xxvi. Cf. Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 273; E. Malamut, 'Nouvelle hypothèse sur l'origine de la maison impériale des Manganes', *Αφιέρωμα στον Νίκο Εβροβόνο* (Rethymno 1986), I, pp. 127–34; W. T. Treadgold, in *Rivista di studi bizantini e slavi* 4 (1984), p. 216 n. 17.

¹⁸⁴ *An. Boll.* 16 (1897), p. 45: while they were waiting for their convent next to Hagia Sophia to be rebuilt after the fire of 532, the nuns spent six years at St Menas, διὰ τὸ πλησιάζειν τῷ Ἁγίῳ Μήνᾳ τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν ἐπιλεγομένην τῶν Μαγγάνων καὶ τὸ μαγκιπεῖον αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἔχειν αὐτάς μικρὰν παραμυθίαν τῆς χρείας, ὡς καὶ ἀνήκουσαν μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος τὴν αὐτὴν οἰκίαν τῇ ... μονῇ τῆς Ὀσίας Ὀλυμπιάδος. We do not know if the house of the Mangana already belonged to the convent or if it was given to them by Justinian; in any case, it was not part of the foundress' fortune. Cf. *An. Boll.* 15 (1896), pp. 413–14; Janin, *Églises*, 381; Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale*, pp. 503–6. The proximity of the Mangana to the church of St Menas is confirmed by the Mercati anonymous, ed. Ciggaar, p. 250: 'prope autem Mangana est magna ecclesia valde Sancti Menae martiris'.

¹⁸⁵ *Theophanes Continuatus*, p. 337; C. Mango, 'The Palace of Marina', pp. 324–6. See too the recently published text which shows that in the eighth century part of this palace was used as a textile workshop: ed. Angélidi, p. 145.

¹⁸⁶ *Theophanes Continuatus*, pp. 460–61; P. Magdalino, 'The Bath of Leo the Wise and the "Macedonian Renaissance" Revisited', *DOP* 42 (1988), pp. 97–118.

¹⁸⁷ *Patria*, I 60, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, p. 145. The name Oikonomeion derived from the nearby office and treasury of the steward (*oikonomos*) of the Nea Ekklesia: see *Theophanes Continuatus*, p. 328; Magdalino, 'The Bath of Leo the Wise', p. 99.

from the emperor.¹⁸⁸

- Domniziolos, *patrikios* and *kouropalates* under Phokas (602–610), invited St Theodore of Sykeon to bless his *oikos* ἐν Ἀρκαδιαναῖς.¹⁸⁹ Given his high rank, this must have been a fine mansion. How many such residences could there have been at this location? Might this not be the house, said to have belonged to Aspar, which was later occupied by Basil the *parakoimomenos*?
- The emperor Theophilos (829–42) established the hospital named after him in an extensive and conspicuous building on top of a hill above the Zeugma (modern Unkapanı) beside the Golden Horn.¹⁹⁰ The building had a long history, for which the evidence, all dating from the tenth century, is muddled and fanciful.¹⁹¹ Thus we may doubt whether its original owner was a Roman *patrikios* called Isidore, or that it served as a brothel (πορνεῖον) for fallen noblewomen until Leo III converted it into a hostel (ξενοδοχεῖον),¹⁹² or, still less, that it contained a statue of Aphrodite which exposed adulterous women, including Justin II's sister-in-law, by raising their skirts to reveal their genitals. However, we can accept that it was a 'large and marvellous' *oikos*¹⁹³ of evident antiquity, and we can regard as fact the information about its later fortunes: (1) it became the final residence of the deposed emperor Constantine VI, whose widow Theodote converted it after his death into a convent called 'Repentance' (Μετάνοια),¹⁹⁴ (2) it came to Theophilos' attention when a

¹⁸⁸ John the Deacon, *Cronaca Veneziana*, ed. G. Monticolo, *Cronache Veneziane antichissime*, Rome 1890, pp. 167–8: 'hoc tali in palacio quod Yconomium nuncupatur peracto ordine ... novicius vero dux cum sua venusta sponsa apud pallacium, quod iure dotalicii nuper adquisierat, degree disposuit'.

¹⁸⁹ *Vie de saint Théodore de Sykéon*, ed. Festugière, § 140, I, p. 110.

¹⁹⁰ *Patria*, II 65, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, pp. 185–7: ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ Ζεύγματι ἐπάνω τοῦ λόφου, ὅπερ ὀρᾶται εὐμηκὲς κτίσμα νοσοκομείου ... For the location of the Zeugma, see Berger, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 486–7, and my 'Aristocratic *oikos*? [no. XX in this volume], p. 61 n.32, *contra* Mango, *Développement*, p. 17.

¹⁹¹ In addition to the *Patria*, loc. cit., see Leo the Grammarian, p. 227; *Georgius Monachus Continuatus*, p. 809; Pseudo-Symeon, pp. 645–6, and cf. Berger, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 484–6; W.T. Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival, 780–842* (Stanford 1988), p. 322, p. 450.

¹⁹² This may have been suggested by Leo VI's conversion of a brothel, the Kyphe, into an old people's home (see above, n. 92): this establishment also lay on the processional route to the Blachernae.

¹⁹³ *Georgius Monachus Continuatus*, p. 809: τοῦ δὲ αὐτοῦ οἴκου μεγίστου τε ὄντος καὶ θαυμαστοῦ.

¹⁹⁴ This recalls the famous house founded by the Empress Theodora for repentant prostitutes (Procopius, *De aed.*, I, p. 9 *Anecdota*, XVII, pp. 5–6), and may have contributed to the tradition that the building had once been a brothel.

roof beam fractured, threatening the collapse of the main hall, and the nuns petitioned the emperor as he was on his weekly procession to the Blachernae; (3) he turned aside (ἐκνεύσας) to inspect the damage and, impressed by the building, restored and endowed it as a hospital after relocating the nuns. Now, there cannot have been many great houses around the Zeugma, near the road to the Blachernae¹⁹⁵ that could provide an appropriate residence for an ex-emperor. This leads me to suggest that this building was in fact the house of Hilara (τῆς Ἰλαρᾶς) at the Zeugma that Maurice had given to his daughter,¹⁹⁶ which would indicate that it had indeed been the home of a noble senatorial family in the fifth and sixth centuries. A number of large aristocratic residences were located in the areas to the south and west of the Zeugma.¹⁹⁷

Even more mysterious than the previous history of the building is the later fate of Theophilos' hospital. Why does this imposing and well-endowed imperial foundation disappear from the sources after the tenth century? Or does it reappear in another guise? The description of its site, 'at the Zeugma on top of the hill', exactly fits the place where the former churches of the Pantokrator monastery (Zeyrek Kilise Camii) stand today.¹⁹⁸ It is hard to escape the suspicion that this grand dynastic

¹⁹⁵ This emerges as much from the *Patria's* account of the misadventures of Justin II's sister-in-law as from the chronicle accounts of Theophilos' encounter with the nuns of Metanoia. They all refer to the coastal road running along the Golden Horn, which was reached from the Great Palace by going along the Mese via the Forum of Constantine, then turning north at the Tetracylon along the *emboloi* of Domninos and Maurianos. This itinerary is attested by *De cer.*, ed. Reiske, 156 (Vogt, I, 144), and by the sources cited above, n. 92, and below, n. 198, as well as in Chapter 2, n. 154.

¹⁹⁶ See above, n. 178–9. Theophylact Simocatta's account of a riot during an imperial procession (VIII 4, ed. de Boor, p. 291) confirms the proximity of the house to the Blachernae route along the Golden Horn.

¹⁹⁷ Magdalino, 'Aristocratic *oikoi*'. They included the palace of the deposed western emperor Olybrius, with whom two chronicle accounts associate Isidore, the alleged founder of the initial building: *Georgius Monachus Continuatus*, p. 809; Pseudo-Symeon, pp. 645–6.

¹⁹⁸ See Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, pp. 209–15; Mathews, *Photographic Survey*, pp. 71–101. Janin, *Églises*, p. 263, places the *xenon* of Theophilos to the east of the Zeugma, on the hill now crowned by the Suleymaniye Mosque, but that hill was known to the Byzantines as Oxeia: Berger, *Untersuchungen*, p. 459. In addition, the proximity of the Pantokrator to the Blachernae route should be mentioned: according to the instructions of John II Comnenus, the Friday *presbeia*, which came from the Blachernae to the church of the Chalkoprateia, made a detour via an *embolos*, which linked the monastery to the public *embolos*: see Gautier, 'Typikon du Pantocrator', p. 75. The text of an ekphrasis on the porticoes of this *embolos* has survived in the fourteenth-century *Menaia*: ed. D. Kampouroglou, *Μνημεῖα τῆς ἱστορίας τῶν Ἀθηνῶν*, III (Athens 1892), pp. 125–31. For the *presbeia* procession, see N. P. Ševčenko, 'Icons in the Liturgy', *DOP*, 45 (1991), pp. 51–2.

foundation of the Komnenoi, with its famous hospital,¹⁹⁹ occupied the site, and perhaps even the premises, of Theophilos' *xenon*. The fact that the Pantokrator *Typikon* of 1136 does not mention any pre-existing foundation cannot in itself be regarded as conclusive, since restorers of religious institutions were notorious for claiming all the credit and neglecting the memory of the original founders – and Theophilos, the last iconoclast emperor, was hardly a prime candidate for pious commemoration. However, the lack of any obvious ninth-century stratum in the Pantokrator's property list does suggest that there was a substantial lapse of time between the closure of Theophilos' *xenon* and the inauguration of John II's monastery, an interval in which the hospital's original endowments had been transferred to some other foundation.

- A *sebastokrator* called Isaac, who was the brother of one of the emperors between 1081 and 1180 (we do not know which Isaac of the three possibilities) 200, had a large house near the port of Julian, which the emperor Isaac II later converted into a hostelry. The information about its location in Niketas Choniates' text closely echoes the comments made two centuries earlier by Leo the Deacon when describing the house of Bardas Phokas, father of the emperor Nikephoros II:

τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ κάταντες ἐν τῷ λιμένι τῶν Σοφίων ἐστὶν (Choniates, ed. van Dieten, p. 445)

τῆς ἐστίας αὐτοῦ κατὰ μεσημβρίαν κειμένης τοῦ ἄστεος, πρὸς τὸ κάταντες τῆς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν φερούσης ὁδοῦ, ἵνα ὁ τῆς Σοφίας λιμὴν ἥπλωται (Leo the Deacon, pp. 83–4)

We know that the palace of Justin II and Sophia was in this area, as was the house which Theophilos gave to his son-in-law Theophobos the Persian.²⁰¹ Were these really all different palaces in a single neighbourhood with an extraordinarily dense concentration of aristocratic homes? Can they not be more plausibly regarded as one and the same residential unit, reserved over the centuries for the emperors' close relatives? If such a unit is admissible, we can hardly avoid looking for it on the map of the city's first century of development, as set out in the *Notitia* of Theodosius II. Here we find, in exactly the right place, the *domus* of the emperor's sister Pulcheria.²⁰²

¹⁹⁹ Ed. Gautier, 'Typikon du Pantocrator', p. 82 ff.; cf. Miller, *Birth of the Hospital*, p. 12 ff.

²⁰⁰ Barzos, *Ἡ Γενεαλογία*, nos. 26, 36, 78.

²⁰¹ Leo the Grammarian, p. 228; Pseudo-Symeon, p. 646; *Georgius Monachus Continuatus*, p. 810; cf. Berger, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 594–5; for the palace of Justin and Sophia at Sophiae or Sophianne, see above, p. 21.

²⁰² See 'The Maritime Neighbourhoods of Constantinople', p. 216 [no. III in this volume].

A systematic study might come up with more examples, but this is enough to demonstrate the methodology and identify a typical characteristic of the 'political' face of the medieval City. Despite all the changes in the ownership and function of the great *oikoi* built in the early centuries, there was actually a surprising continuity in terms of location and fabric. It is worth asking exactly how the medieval *oikoi*, as both seats and symbols of economic and social power, differed from the *oikoi* of late antiquity, other than by managing their supplies in a more independent, even commercial, manner.²⁰³ It seems to me that the long-term survival of this network of *oikoi* was at least as important as the changes that occurred, including conversion into a religious establishment. In all cases, this was nothing more than a transfer of assets within the elite of the 'powerful'.

Above all, it is doubtful that the founders of new dynasties were doing anything truly innovative. Basil I's 'imperial houses' and the princely palaces belonging to the relatives of Alexios I Komnenos were worthy successors to the ancient *domus*, particularly when they were in fact one and the same building. Like many previous rulers, Maurice being the best documented, the Komnenian regime seems to have returned to a model of building and patronage dating back to Theodosius.²⁰⁴

Conclusion

I will now return to my initial proposition: Constantinople in the tenth century remained the early Christian city which had taken shape in the two and a half centuries after its foundation. I hope I have demonstrated that the most marked changes in the medieval city were not a result of decline, the seventh-century 'ruralisation', but were part and parcel of the christianisation of the City, which was completed in the age and aftermath of Justinian. The influence of Justinian and his successors was decisive: they oversaw the development of the port of Julian and the surrounding areas (bringing with it a shift and concentration of the infrastructure of supply) as well as the construction or complete renovation of many churches and charitable institutions which had other church-dependent institutions clustered around them – baths, *diakonai*, notarial offices and secondary schools. In short, this was a complete programme that swiftly and definitively completed the hitherto slow transformation of

²⁰³ Cf. Magdalino, 'The Grain Supply', pp. 37–8 [no. XX in this volume].

²⁰⁴ Thus Zonaras' complaint (III, p. 767) that Alexios' relatives lived in residences a big as towns and as magnificent as imperial palaces is not just a *topos*, but reflects an ancient reality: see Asterios d'Amaseia, PG 40, col. 209; John of Ephesus, cited above, n. 153.

Constantinople into a Christian city. The acceleration in the programme was prompted by the arrival of the plague in 542 which provided an ideological, if not a social, impetus for change, but the programme of transformation clearly pre-dates the financial and commercial crisis triggered by the Persian and Arab invasions, which were in fact much more damaging than the plague in terms of urban life. The proof of this is that the plague did not noticeably reduce the consumption of wheat or water, nor the risk of fire.²⁰⁵ Ancient urban culture was not abandoned during the sixth-century transformation, but crystallised around a different set of nuclei. What did happen in the sixth century was that the emperors undertook, on a massive scale, the type of public benefaction that had previously been dependent on private initiative. This was an extremely wide-ranging imperial programme which used the resources of a vast Empire to ensure that Constantinople remained, and continued to look like, a ruling *megapolis*. It was these sixth-century buildings and structures that kept the city, and the Empire, running during the 'dark centuries'; as long as they were kept in good repair they would suffice. At the end of the eighth century, when re-building started again, it followed a pre-established pattern. These new foundations – hospitals, churches, *diakonai*, monasteries – are listed in the written sources alongside the old ones without any hint that they differed in character. Besides, there were not very many new foundations, with the very significant exception of monasteries, but these – and this is also highly significant – were not imperial foundations. Among the imperial foundations, only Basil I's Nea Ekklesia, the largest and most luxurious building of the ninth century, stood out by virtue of its special status and ambiguous position between the Palace and the City. But the past was the chief inspiration for the Nea: this was why it was called 'New'.²⁰⁶

The written collections produced by the 'Macedonian Renaissance' are not intentionally deceptive when they strive to bridge the gap between the end of Antiquity and the beginnings of the medieval renewal. In truth, they suggest that Byzantines never felt the breach between the two periods as sharply as Byzantinists. There was definitely a break with Antiquity, but, if I can put it this way, the chasm

²⁰⁵ Scarcity of food in p. 556, p. 562, p. 578; Malalas, ed. Thurn, p. 418, p. 425; John of Ephesus, *Hist. Eccl. pars tertia*, III 45, tr. Brooks, pp. 133–4. Drought under Justinian and renovation of the aqueduct under Justin II and Maurice: Malalas, ed. Thurn, p. 425; Procopius, *Anecdota*, XXVI 23; Kedrenos, I, p. 685; Theophylact Simocatta, VIII 13, 17, ed. de Boor p. 311; John of Nikiu, XCV, 15–18, tr. R.H. Charles, *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu* (Oxford 1916), p. 153. Fires: Theophanes, p. 235; Malalas, ed. Thurn, pp. 422–4; John of Ephesus, *Hist. eccl. pars tertia*, II 49, III 46, tr. Brooks, p. 84, pp. 133–4; Kedrenos, I, p. 691; *Patria*, III 30, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, p. 225.

²⁰⁶ See Magdalino, 'Observations on the Nea'. [no. V in this volume]

is bridged by the construction of Byzantium's identity. It was the bridge rather than the gulf that unified the centuries wrongly referred to as the 'Dark Ages', and that is as true for the urban reality of Constantinople as for the Constantinople and the Constantine the Great of medieval imagination.

If the tenth-century collections do deceive, it is in the picture they give – or which we have drawn from them – of a shrunken society clinging on to the town centre, a single port and one central market. However, the importance of the apparently isolated Blachernae complex should serve as a warning, and make us examine other sources which reveal a suburban hinterland dotted with the particles of an *urbs in rure*. Sixth and seventh-century texts such as Procopius' *De aedificiis* and the *Life of St Theodore of Sykeon* describe a commercial network of small *emporía* in the sprawling suburbs.²⁰⁷ Michael Attaleiates, writing in 1080 but apparently describing a long-established situation, does not mention the ports at all but a series of landing-stages scattered along the shore of the city and its surroundings.²⁰⁸

The *Patria's* list of monasteries between the two walls and beyond the Golden Horn gives us some idea of their role in the survival and renewal of urban life. But it is only a vague idea. Strangely, the *Patria* does not say anything at all about some of the great tenth-century monastic foundations: three monasteries near the Cistern of Aspar, and the two imperial *oikoi* of the Myrelaion and the Petrion which included monastic communities among their multiple functions.²⁰⁹ The compiler of the *Patria* at the end of the tenth century knew these foundations perfectly well but he chose to omit them, using the Myrelaion and the Petrion only as cues for telling fantasy stories about the bad behaviour of Constantine V.²¹⁰ Did he have it in for the Lekapenos dynasty who had a major role in their creation? Did he think they were outside the traditional patriographical subject-matter? Was it because he knew they opened a new chapter in the evolution of the great 'Queen City' protected by God?

²⁰⁷ Procopius, *De aedificiis*, I 8. pp. 8–10; *Vie de Théodore de Sykéon*, ed. Festugière, § 156–8, I, p. 126, p. 128, p. 130, p. 132; cf. C. Mango, 'The Empress Helena, Helenopolis, Pylae', *TM*, 12 (1994), p. 143, pp. 154–5.

²⁰⁸ Attaleiates, pp. 199–200; Magdalino, 'Grain Supply', pp. 41–2.

²⁰⁹ See below, pp. 73–4, 83–4.

²¹⁰ *Patria*, III 68, 134, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, p. 240, p. 258; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 492–3, pp. 598–601.

Chapter 2

Medieval Expansion

Failed development

The chronicler John Skylitzes relates an incident from the short reign of the emperor Michael VI Bringas (1056–1057) which reveals a great deal about the urban development of medieval Constantinople. He says that this emperor 'being very old and remembering many former things, made efforts to revive many ancient customs which had fallen out of use and did not contribute anything useful to the Empire or the common good. For he ordered the place called the Strategion to be dug out; as a result the citizens mocked him, saying that he was clearing the ground to find the knucklebone he had lost while playing there.'¹

This story is revealing in three ways. Firstly, it emerges that the Strategion, a great monumental square in the ancient city, was, by the eleventh century, buried under a thick layer of earth that must have taken centuries rather than decades to accumulate.² Michael VI had never seen the square's paving stones with his own eyes; the expression 'look for one's knucklebone', which occurs in one other Byzantine text, was evidently used to ridicule anyone who moved vast heaps of debris for no good reason.³ The Strategion square had long since lost much of its monumental dignity. In the ninth century, Caesar Bardas and Basil I had removed all its bronze sculptures,⁴ and although there were still

¹ Skylitzes, ed. Thurn, p. 482: ὡς τὸν οἰκειὸν ἀστράγαλον ἀναζητῶν, ὃν ἐκεῖσε παίζων ἀπώλεσεν.

² On the square, see Bauer, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal*, pp. 224–8, and for the latest attempt to locate it, Mango, 'Triumphal Way', pp. 187–8, suggesting a site about 300 m. to the east of Sirkeci station.

³ John Apokaukos, ed. N. Bees, 'Unedierte Schriftstücke', no. 88, p. 143 (continuation of no. 27, pp. 85–8): the despot Constantine Doukas, when he occupied the bishop's palace at Naupaktos, had a bath built by the *paroikoi* of the church, καὶ πέρας τοῦ πόνου, ὡς δὲ τὸ τοῦ ἔργου ἀτέλευτον δίδωσιν ἐννοεῖν, ἢ τὸν πυθμένα τῆς γῆς καὶ τὸ κατώτατον πέταυρον ἀναψηλαφᾶ, ἢ τὸ παιδικὸν καὶ γελοῖον, προβάτου ἐκεῖ που κεκρυμμένον ἀστράγαλον.

⁴ *Patria*, II 61, III 24, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, p. 184, p. 221.

some other sculptures left,⁵ the Strategion was listed in the *Book of the Eparch* as a market for livestock;⁶ generations of pigs and sheep had helped to enrich the ground.⁷

As significant as the neglect of the Strategion were the efforts made in the eleventh century to remedy the situation. Since Skylitzes' comments are coloured by his desire to lampoon Michael VI as a foil to Isaac Komnenos who seized his throne, we should not see Michael's initiative as an old man's folly, but rather a programme of urban renewal to restore a great monumental square to its original grandeur, in a part of the city that was returning to importance. The project should be seen in connection with the revival of the areas along the Golden Horn which can be observed from the tenth century, and which will be studied at the end of this chapter.

What we should retain from Skylitzes' account is that the scheme failed and was abandoned after the fall of Michael VI. Restoring the Strategion to its original state seems to have been impractical and did not appeal to the aesthetic taste of the majority of Constantinopolitans. We know very little about the square's ultimate fate, but its name survived: a literary text from the end of the twelfth century mentions it in reference to the sieve-makers who worked there,⁸ and at the beginning of the fifteenth century Manuel Chrysoloras noticed the empty plinths which were still visible.⁹ However, it may be significant that the name does not feature in the detailed twelfth-century documents concerning the neighbouring Pisan and Genoese quarters. It is quite possible that part of the open space had been taken over by shops and workshops.

From collections to individual documents

After the year 1000, Byzantium left behind the 'culture of collecting' which had been so characteristic of the age of Constantine Porphyrogenetos, just as it departed from the 'classical' model epitomised by the work of this emperor. No Byzantine in the eleventh or twelfth centuries bothered to write a treaty on protocol and imperial ceremonies to incorporate the changes brought about by the new Komnenian regime.¹⁰ We know a fair amount about these changes, but

⁵ Constantine of Rhodes, ed. Legrand, p. 44, lines 257–9.

⁶ *Ep. Bibl.*, XV 1. 5.

⁷ *Ep. Bibl.*, XV 1. 5; cf. Mango, *Développement*, p. 57, p. 62.

⁸ John Nomikopoulos, ed. A. Karpozilos, 'Ιωάννου Νομικοπούλου ἔκφρασις Αἰθίοπος καὶ Ἰππου πᾶνυ ταλαιπωρημένου, *Δωδώνη*, 9 (1980), p. 296.

⁹ PG 156, col. 45 D; ed. Billò, p. 21.

¹⁰ On which, see Magdalino, *Empire of Manuel*, pp. 237–48.

from specific records of particular events. It is the same for Constantinople itself. The capital's inhabitants failed to give an overview of the evolution of urban space: sometimes they interpolated or slightly modified earlier texts but they did not attempt to re-write or replace the tenth-century collections. At the time of Alexios I a version of the *Patria* was produced with its entries re-arranged topographically, along the lines of contemporary guides for foreign tourists; otherwise, there is no surviving example of this tourist literature in Greek.¹¹ Greek writers were more likely to celebrate their City in rhetorical eulogies,¹² while those with patriographical interests tended to express them within the framework of chronicle writing or philological commentary.¹³

The same lack of systematic description can be seen with regard to changes in the liturgical map from the eleventh century. On the feast days of popular saints, people were much more likely to go to the new and increasingly monastic churches dedicated to the saint, but the list of commemorations was not updated accordingly – in contrast to the tenth century, when the latest versions of the Great Church's *Typikon* and *Synaxarion* had incorporated the recently-founded *Nea Ekklesia* in the list of liturgical venues.¹⁴ On the feast of St George, Constantine IX Monomachos' successors went to the monastery he had founded at the Mangana.¹⁵ Under Isaac II Angelos, courtiers went to the imperial convent of the Virgin Pantanassa on the feast of the Assumption.¹⁶ The accounts of a miracle by St Nicholas show the popularity, between the tenth and fourteenth centuries, of the annual feast at the church of St Nicholas the Iberian, which later became the monastery of St Nicholas of the Iberians and was probably on the Acropolis.¹⁷ These three popular cult-centres, at least

¹¹ See Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 87 ff., 155–161.

¹² See E. Fenster, *Laudes Constantinopolitanae* (Munich 1968).

¹³ See Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire*, p. 19, p. 53, p. 108, p. 119, p. 165, p. 317; R. Macrides and P. Magdalino, 'The Fourth Kingdom and the Rhetoric of Hellenism', in P. Magdalino (ed.), *The Perception of the Past in Twelfth-Century Europe* (London 1992), pp. 120–39.

¹⁴ *Syn. CP and Typ.*, 8 November and 20 July; cf. Magdalino, 'Observations on the Nea', p. 61, and idem, 'Basil I, Leo VI, and the Feast of the Prophet Elijah', *JÖB* 38 (1988) pp. 193–6. [nos. V and VI in this volume]

¹⁵ Attaleiates, ed. Pérez Martín, pp. 54–6.

¹⁶ Niketas Choniates, ed. Van Dieten, p. 438; cf. *ibid.*, p. 419, and the Sathas Anonymous, *MB*, VII, p. 398, p. 408. Isaac completed the foundation started by Maria-Xene, the widow of Manuel I. Cf. Janin, *Églises*, pp. 215–16; Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, pp. 377–9.

¹⁷ The miracle occurred in the oratory of St Nicholas to the east of Hagia Sophia to a poor man who was passing by on his way to the church of St Nicholas where the feast was celebrated. Of the two versions, the older (ed. Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos*, p. 239 ff.) says it happened during the reign of an emperor called Romanos (so at some point between 920 and 1071) and mentions a πάνσεπτον ναὸν τοῦ μεγάλου ἀρχιερέως Νικολάου τοῦ Ἰβήρου. The later version, by Nikephoros

two of which were imperial foundations, were unknown to the tenth-century writer of the *Synaxarion*, and yet there was no attempt to update that list by adding their names. Not until the late fourteenth century, with the treatise on titles and ceremonial by 'Pseudo-Kodinos', do we get another systematic catalogue of liturgical venues – but it is of course the court's, not the church's list, and it reflects little of the situation before the changes that followed the Latin conquest of 1204.¹⁸

It is foreigners, Latins and Russians, who now provide us with glimpses of the City's sacred topography;¹⁹ but the best topographical details are to be found in the documents of the newly privileged owners of urban real estate. Foundation charters or *Typika* survive from the period before 1204 for five monasteries: the Theotokos Evergetis,²⁰ Michael Attaleiates' Panoiktirmon,²¹ Eirene Doukaina's Kecharitomene,²² John II Komnenos' Pantokrator,²³ and St Mamas.²⁴ Notarised documents from Constantinople concerning provincial monasteries are also extremely useful, and an 1166 contract for a long lease survives from the urban dependency (*metochion*) of the Asian monastery of Xerochoraphion.²⁵ This document gives details of the adjacent properties as well as listing all the people who had previously leased the property, which was

Xanthopoulos (ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *ALS*, IV, 358), refers to τῶν ἱβήρων τὴν μονὴν... ὅπου πόλις σύμπασα τοῦ Κωνσταντινίου πανηγυρίζειν εἶχεν ἐξ ἔθους πάλαι λαμπρὰν ἑορτὴν τῷ σοφῷ μυροβλήτῃ. Xanthopoloulos evidently pictures a procession which came from, and returned to, the centre of the city; so the destination must be in the Acropolis area. As Russian pilgrims do not mention a church of St Nicholas around the Mangana (Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, pp. 361–87), the only other option is near the Orphanage, where it would not be surprising to find a church dedicated to the patron saint of children and the poor. I would thus identify it with the convent of Georgian nuns which Alexios I set up at the Orphanage (Anna Komnene, *Alexiad*, XV 7. 8, ed. Reinsch and Kambylis, p. 484). If this hypothesis is correct, Alexios must have established this community at a pre-existing church. Maybe this was the oratory of St Nicholas mentioned in the tenth century near the column of the Goths: *Vie de saint Luc le Stylite*, ed. Delehaye, *Les saints stylites*, § 23, 218; cf. Mango, *Studies on Constantinople*, no. X, p. 2.

¹⁸ *Pseudo-Kodinos*, ed. Verpeaux, pp. 242–7; see now no. XII in this volume.

¹⁹ See above, Introduction, pp. 10–11.

²⁰ Ed. and tr. Gautier; tr. R. Jordan, in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, II, pp. 454–506; cf. *The Theotokos Evergetis and eleventh-century monasticism*, ed. M. Mullett and A. Kirby (Belfast 1994).

²¹ Ed. and tr. Gautier; tr. A.-M. Talbot in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, I, pp. 326–76; cf. Lemerle, *Cinq études*, pp. 65–112.

²² Ed. and tr. Gautier; tr. R. Jordan, in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, II, pp. 649–724.

²³ Ed. and tr. Gautier; tr. R. Jordan, in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, II, pp. 725–81.

²⁴ Ed. S. Eustratiades, 'Τυπικὸν τῆς μονῆς τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος Μάμαντος', *Hell.* 1 (1928), pp. 242–314; tr. A. Bandy, in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, III, pp. 973–1041.

²⁵ Ed. Wilson and Darrouzès, 'Cartulaire de Hiéra-Xérochoraphion', pp. 21–6.

near the Blachernae, from the Great Church. The most useful documents for this study are in the archives in Venice, Pisa and Genoa, and relate to the districts near the Golden Horn that were conceded to these cities by the Komnenos and Angelos emperors.²⁶

These documents add vital details to our knowledge of the City beyond the imperial Palace. However, though the documentation is significant in itself, it can only provide some pieces of the jigsaw. To appreciate its importance we need to have a good idea of the main outline of the pattern into which it fits.

Population recovery

Although opinions are divided regarding the demographic crisis of the sixth to eighth centuries, it is generally accepted that the capital gradually recovered and that 'when the Crusaders arrived, Constantinople had the appearance of a very great city'.²⁷ They were overawed by the City even as they were sacking it. Their taste for concrete facts and figures produced a bombast of numbers and comparisons which is almost as exaggerated as Byzantine rhetoric, but tends to be more appealing to modern scholars. The chief chronicler of the Fourth Crusade, Geoffrey of Villehardouin, gives the first overall figure for Constantinople's population when he says that the Crusader army of 20,000 took a city of 400,000 people.²⁸ Elsewhere, Villehardouin claims that when the Crusaders set fire to the city to help capture it in 1204, 'more houses were burnt in that city than there are in any three of the greatest cities in the kingdom of France'.²⁹ The other French historian of the crusade, Robert de Clari, makes a similar comparison when he relates that the fire started by the Crusaders during their first attack in 1203, 'burnt down an area equivalent to the city of Arras'.³⁰ Later on, after a general survey of the City's marvels, he makes the following statement: 'Nor do I think, for my part, that any man on earth could number all the abbeys of the city, so many there were, both of monks and of nuns, aside

²⁶ The Venetian documents are in TT, I–II; see also the further information and new finds given by Maltezou, 'Il quartiere veneziano'. For Pisa, see Müller, *Documenti*. The most complete edition of the Genoese documents is by Sanguineti-Bertolotto, cited below.

²⁷ Mango, *Développement*, pp. 61–2.

²⁸ Ed. and tr. Faral, II, § 251, pp. 54–5; tr. Shaw, 93.

²⁹ Ed. and tr. Faral, II, § 247, pp. 50–51; tr. Shaw, 92; cf. Madden, 'The Fires of the Fourth Crusade', pp. 72–93.

³⁰ Ed. Lauer, § XLVI, p. 47, tr. McNeal, 73. Cf. Niketas Choniates, ed. van Dieten, p. 545; Madden, 'The Fires of the Fourth Crusade', pp. 73–4.

from the other churches outside of the city. And it was reckoned that there were in the city a good thirty thousand priests, both monks and others.³¹

The comments of two English authors which echo the views of those who took part in the Crusade, are part of the same genre. The chronicler Ralph of Coggeshall writes: 'Those who knew the dwellings of the city confirmed as certainty that there were more inhabitants than the number who live between York and the River Thames'.³² According to his contemporary, Gerald of Wales, on the banks of the Bosphoros and outside Constantinople the crusaders had counted 64 monasteries, 294 churches, 2,553 boats (without counting many hundreds they did not see), 361 sailing ships, 157 galleys and transport-ships.³³ The same author continues with a comparison between Constantinople and Rome after Constantine's *translatio imperii*: the space which, in Old Rome, was half covered by ruins or *inaedificatum* had been covered in the New Rome by important residences and palaces 'before the destruction and conquest of this city by the Latins of our day'.³⁴

Of course, this is not to say that we should take all this literally, but there is a remarkable agreement between the sources, supported by the accounts of the historians of the First Crusade and Benjamin of Tudela.³⁵ Robert de Clari's 30,000 religious is close to Fulcher of Chartres's 20,000 eunuchs. In these figures, as in those of Villehardouin, there is a hint of European contempt for the degenerate, emasculated, servile and sterile masses of the Orient. Nevertheless, Robert de Clari's figure is not completely impossible, taking into account the number of churches and monasteries, the huge number of clergy at Hagia Sophia and the resources of the great monasteries, some of which had hundreds of monks.³⁶ It is also comparable to the figure given in 1200 by Antony of Novgorod who, citing a census taken by Manuel I, reckoned

³¹ § XCII, ed. Lauer, p. 90, tr. McNeal, p. 112.

³² *Radulphi de Coggeshall chronicon anglicanum*, ed. J. Stevenson, *Rerum britannicarum medii aevi scriptores* 66 (London 1875), p. 150.

³³ *Giraldi Cambrensis Speculum Ecclesiae*, ed. J.S. Brewer, *Rerum britannicarum medii aevi scriptores* 21, 4 (London 1873), p. 282. The exclusion of the City itself seems to indicate that this count was made by the Crusaders before they took it.

³⁴ *Ibid.* Clearly an exaggeration as large areas of Constantinople looked quite rural: see Nicolas Mesarites, 'Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles', ed. and tr. Downey, p. 897, p. 863; Odo of Deuil, ed. and tr. Berry, p. 64.

³⁵ Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, IX, 1, ed. Hagenmeyer, pp. 176–8; also see the interpolated version in the *Gesta Francorum*, *Recueils des historiens des croisades, hist. occ.* III (Paris 1866), p. 484. For Benjamin of Tudela consult the improved translation by Sharf, *Byzantine Jewry*, pp. 135–6.

³⁶ The Stoudios monastery had seven hundred monks after it was re-founded by Theodore Stoudites: Theophanes, 481; for the Manuel and Kosmidion monasteries, see below p. 71.

there were 54,000 religious in the Constantinople region;³⁷ it was not only Western amateur statisticians who may have used information from Byzantine archives, although with some exaggeration. As for Villehardouin, although it is impossible to check his figure for the overall population of Constantinople it still should not be dismissed out of hand. The figure does seem outrageous, but only in the context of contemporary urbanisation in the West; when these Western authors made comparisons with their own countries the whole point was to show that Constantinople was in an entirely different league. For closer comparisons we need to look to the great cities of Antiquity and the Islamic world. A population of 400,000 is slightly below the average estimations of the population of Constantinople in the sixth century.³⁸ On the eve of the Fourth Crusade the symptoms of overpopulation seen in the sixth century resurfaced. There were frequent and devastating fires.³⁹ The water supply was inadequate despite numerous cisterns, including four great open-air reservoirs, evoked as follows by Nicholas Mesarites around 1200 in his *Description of the church of the Holy Apostles*: ‘one can see in it [the church] and in the regions surrounding it inexhaustible treasures of water and reservoirs of sweet water made equal to seas, from which as from four heads of rivers⁴⁰ the whole City of Constantine receives its supply’.⁴¹ Manuel I’s efforts to supplement the long-distance

³⁷ Tr. Khitrowo, pp. 110–11: ‘L’empereur Manuel chercha et ordonna d’enumérer tous les prêtres en leur donnant une *perpera* et les couvents qui sont d’un bout de *Souda* à l’autre’. It seems to me that the author has conflated three different benefactions by this emperor: (1) his generosity to the clergy at Hagia Sophia (Kinnamos, p. 33; Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. van Dieten, p. 49); (2) his gifts of two gold coins to each house in Constantinople (Kinnamos. *loc. cit.*); (3) the privileges he granted to the monasteries in the region of the capital: see N. Svoronos, ‘Les privilèges de l’Église à l’époque des Comnènes: un rescrit inédit de Manuel 1^{er} Comnène’, *TM*, 1 (1965), pp. 328–34, reprinted in idem, *Études sur l’organisation intérieure, la société et l’économie de l’Empire byzantin* (London 1973); Magdalino, *Empire of Manuel*, p. 285.

³⁸ See above, Chapter I, p. 18 and n. 8.

³⁹ Niketas Choniates, ed. van Dieten, p. 445, pp. 552–5; Magdalino, ‘Constantinopolitana’, pp. 227–8 [no. VIII in this volume]; Madden, ‘The Fires of the Fourth Crusade’. For earlier fires, see below n. 57.

⁴⁰ An allusion to the four rivers of Paradise: Gen. 2, 10.

⁴¹ Ed. and tr. Downey, 897, 863: ἐφ’ ᾧ καὶ ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ἐν αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς περικύκλω αὐτοῦ θησαυροὺς ἀκενώτων ναμάτων καὶ γλυκερῶν δεξαμενᾶς τε παρισουμένας πελάγεσιν, ἐξ ὧν ὡς ἐκ τεσσάρων ἀρχῶν σύμπασα ἡ Κωνσταντίνου κατάρδεται. Downey (n. 6) comments vaguely that ‘The reference is to the Aqueduct of Valens and to the reservoirs in the vicinity of the Church’. Specifically, we can recognise four of the five ‘aqueduct reservoirs’ (δεξαμεναὶ τῶν ἀγωγῶν) named in a twelfth-century or later list of the wonders of Constantinople, i.e. the cisterns of Aetios, Aspar, Bonus, Modestus, and St Mokios: see Mango, ‘Monastery of Christos Pantepoptes’; cf. also Mango, ‘The water supply’, pp. 15–16; Janin, *CP byz.*, pp. 206–7; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 613–15.

aqueduct system with water from catchment areas in the Belgrade forest to the north of the city were not wholly successful,⁴² since his successor Andronikos I (1182–5) had to undertake further work that he was not able to complete in his short reign.⁴³ Riots which threatened to overturn the regime also broke out in the multilingual population, where poor artisans rubbed shoulders with rich, influential merchants.⁴⁴

However, even if we are just about able to mark the peak in medieval Constantinople's population curve, it is still much more difficult to trace the curve itself as there is very little solid evidence for the initial population level. All we can say is that the population started to recover under Constantine V. We know that it was immigration, rather than local birth rates, which sustained and increased urban populations. However, the sources only mention two periods of high population influx, the first between 1014 and 1044,⁴⁵ and the second in 1077–8,⁴⁶ and although this does give an indication of the constant flow of people brought to Constantinople by slavery and ambition,⁴⁷ it is still

⁴² Kinnamos, pp. 274–5. Kinnamos indicates that the problem was the collapse of the arcades bearing sections of the long-distance channel, so Manuel's solution was presumably to reactivate the shorter, and lower-level aqueduct of Hadrian. See Crow and Bayliss, 'Water for the Queen of Cities', *passim* and p. 37.

⁴³ Niketas Choniates, ed. van Dieten, pp. 329–30. Andronikos renewed at great expense the old underground aqueduct that used to bring running water 'to the middle of the market place'. By diverting the river Hydrales, he ensured a plentiful supply for the inhabitants of the Blachernae and neighbouring quarters, but he lacked the time to restore the receptacle (ὕδροδοχεῖον) that would have transmitted the water to the market place. The reference is clearly to the long-distance system which terminated in the *castellum divisorium* at the Forum of Theodosius, and which also supplied at least three of the five great open-air cisterns (Aetios, Aspar, and St Mokios): *ibid.*; Mango, 'The water supply', pp. 13–14; above n. 41. Mesarites' allusion to four of these cisterns as operational suggests that they had been replenished as a result of Andronikos' restoration work.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 233 ff., p. 243, pp. 250–51, p. 255, p. 265, p. 270, pp. 344–7, pp. 349–51, pp. 390–93, pp. 455–6, pp. 519–20, pp. 523–7, pp. 552–3, p. 558ff.; for the merchants, cf. MM, III, p. 39, p. 41. On the multi-lingual nature of Constantinople, see G. Dagron, 'Formes et fonction du pluralisme linguistique à Byzance', *TM* 12 (1994), pp. 219–40.

⁴⁵ Bar Hebraeus, tr. Budge, p. 203: after a large riot in 1044, Constantine IX Monomachos ordered the expulsion of all foreigners, specifically Armenians, Arabs and Jews, who had come to Constantinople in the past thirty years; a huge crowd of 100,000 people left the city.

⁴⁶ Ataleiates, ed. Pérez Martín, p. 155.

⁴⁷ For the importance of slaves in Byzantine society, see now Y. Rotman, *Les esclaves et l'esclavage. De la Méditerranée antique à la Méditerranée médiévale, VI^e–XI^e siècles* (Paris 2004); for the continuing influx of imported slaves in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see e.g. Eustathios of Thessalonica, ed. T.L.F. Tafel, *Eustathii opuscula* (Frankfurt 1832), p. 200; and Patriarch Germanos II, ed. S. Lagopates, *Γερμανὸς ὁ Β΄ Πατριάρχης* (Tripolis 1913), pp. 282–3. For Constantinople as a magnet of ambition and some examples from the ninth to eleventh centuries, see 'Constantinople and the outside world', pp. 152–6 [no. XI in this volume].

impossible to judge the size of the influx. All we are left with is the banal observation that the political and economic development of the Empire from the eighth century onwards encouraged immigration into Constantinople. The allure of the capital, and the drain it put on resources, went hand in hand with the reconquest of imperial territories, especially as the reconquest itself entailed greater centralisation. The Empire's contraction in the second half of the eleventh century did little to dim the city's allure: on the contrary, the Turkish conquest of Asia Minor intensified emigration to Constantinople without causing any noticeable adverse impact on the economy of the European provinces, which stabilised under the Komnenian dynasty. The growth in agriculture and commerce continued after the battle of Manzikert just as it had before.

The population question can be pursued further by examining the City's supply infrastructure. In terms of water supply, the aqueduct was renovated twice in the eleventh century, by Basil II in 1021⁴⁸ and again in 1034 by Romanos III, who also restored the *kastelloi* that received the water.⁴⁹ Skylitzes' information on this ties in with what Bar Hebraeus says about an influx of foreigners between 1014 and 1044. However, we should be cautious of linking these repairs to an increase in population, since they may well have been necessitated by recent events such as the war with Bulgaria and the earthquake of 1032.⁵⁰

The information about food supply is almost as equivocal. It is clear that at the end of the twelfth century, Constantinople could not feed itself solely from the agricultural production of its Thracian and Black Sea hinterland. Michael Choniates states that the city needed wheat from Macedonia and Thessaly,⁵¹ and there is confirmation of this in 1187 when Alexios Branas, who rebelled against Isaac II, hoped to reduce the City by stopping grain shipments getting through the Dardanelles.⁵² Two centuries earlier another rebel, Bardas Skleros,

⁴⁸ Skylitzes, ed. Thurn, p. 366.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 389 (τούς τε τῶν ὑδάτων ὄγκους ἐπεποιήσατο τοὺς τὸ ὕδωρ τῇ πόλει εἰσάγοντας, καὶ τὰς δεχομένας τοῦτο καστέλλους). Flusin (*Jean Skylitzes*, p. 323) translates *kastelloi* as 'bassins', Mango, 'Water supply', p. 18, takes them to be 'water towers' (i.e. the *castellum divisorium* at the Forum of Theodosius [*ibid.*, p. 14]?). However, I wonder if the reference is not to the large open-air cisterns, which, above ground, looked like fortresses, as can be seen in the remains of the Fildamü cistern: see Mango, 'The water supply', p. 15.

⁵⁰ For the earthquake, see Skylitzes, ed. Thurn, p. 386; for an allusion to Bulgarian damage in an inscription, apparently from the aqueduct, commemorating the repairs by Basil II, see G. Seure, 'Antiquités thraces de la Propontide', *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 36 (1912), pp. 568–9.

⁵¹ *Epistulae*, ed. Kolovou, no. 50, p. 69.

⁵² Niketas Choniates, ed. van Dieten, p. 381.

had employed the same strategy, which could indicate an identical level of consumption.⁵³ But there is nothing to suggest that the volume of transported grain, or the level of production itself, remained static for two centuries, and all the evidence suggests that the harvest yields in Thrace increased substantially after Basil II had put an end to the constant danger of incursions by Bulgarian armies with which the area had lived for three centuries. Attaleiates affirms that produce became much more abundant after Basil's annihilation of the Bulgarian state.⁵⁴ Skylitzes reports that during a food shortage in 1036 John the Orphanotrophos bought corn from Hellas (the administrative district which included Thessaly) and the Peloponnese, which would suggest that it was still unusual to import grain from so far away.⁵⁵ It is worth noting that the food shortage in 1077–78 was caused primarily by the impact of civil war on the region around the capital just as it was receiving an influx of refugees fleeing the Turkish advance in Asia Minor.⁵⁶

There remain the other classic signs of urban malaise, quite apart from the list of fires, which is difficult to interpret.⁵⁷ The incidence of riots seems to reinforce the evidence for immigration and water supply in highlighting the importance of the first half of the eleventh century, a period which also saw the emergence of a Constantinopolitan 'bourgeoisie'.⁵⁸ However, the lack of riots during a whole century of Komnenian rule (1081–1182) gives pause for thought, and could indicate that their occurrence reflected the weakness of the political regime rather than overcrowding. There are also great differences between the historians themselves: some, especially Skylitzes and the Syriac

⁵³ Leo the Deacon, p. 170.

⁵⁴ Attaleiates, ed. Pérez Martín, p. 170.

⁵⁵ Skylitzes, ed. Thurn, p. 400. There was a similar situation in 960 when, during the preparations for an expedition to Crete, Joseph Bringas sought corn 'in the East and in the West': *Theophanes Continuatus*, p. 479; Teall, 'Grain Supply', p. 114.

⁵⁶ Attaleiates, ed. Pérez Martín, p. 150, p. 155; Bar Hebraeus, tr. Budge, p. 226.

⁵⁷ There are some gaps in the list drawn up by Schneider, 'Brände in Konstantinopel' but it is true that the majority of other references to fires are undated. See, for example, Michael the Syrian, tr. J.-B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, III (Paris 1905), p. 208 (a fire in Constantinople in 1119 which 'destroyed ten thousand houses and shops'); *Néos Hell.* 9 (1911), no. 47, pp. 18–19 (a church miraculously saved from a fire which consumed the prostitutes' shacks all around it); Miracles of St Nicholas, ed. Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos*, pp. 406–7 (fire around the Heptaskalon); Miracles of St Photeine, ed. F. Halkin, *Hagiographica inedita decem* (Turnhout 1989), § 9, pp. 122–4 (a fire in the Chalkoprateia quarter). For fires on the eve of 1204, see above n. 39.

⁵⁸ See S. Vryonis, 'Byzantine Δημοκρατία and the Guilds in the Eleventh Century', *DOP*, 17 (1963), pp. 289–314, reprinted in idem, *Byzantium: Its Internal History and Relations with the Muslim World* (London 1976); Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 287 ff.; M. F. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy, c. 300–1450* (Cambridge 1985), p. 570 ff.

chroniclers, were particularly interested in the traditional subject matter of urban chronicles, such as fires, earthquakes, mob violence, or food and water shortages, whereas court historians like Anna Komnene and Kinnamos had a completely different agenda.

New religious foundations

Up to this point we have gathered scattered, indirect and often ambiguous pieces of information which reflect the priorities of the writers as much as the incidence of the facts they relate. They make up a dossier which will not stand as proof of a steady population increase, without the addition of one vital ingredient: the evidence for new religious foundations. Taking Raymond Janin's work as a basis, I have counted one hundred new foundations in Constantinople between 750 and 1204,⁵⁹ all, with only few exceptions, monasteries or multi-functional establishments based around monastic communities. No doubt this figure is imprecise, and says very little in itself, but several case studies, set in context, clearly show the demographic basis and progression of a movement which increased the capital's non-productive and non-reproductive population without preventing the Empire recruiting and maintaining an army which was becoming more and more expensive. I would like to pick out the following points:

1. Every religious foundation in Constantinople was endowed with revenues and rural properties which, from then on, were used to feed an urban population.⁶⁰ This did not change when a lay person obtained protection of the house and took its surplus revenue in usufruct. In any case, any surplus was diverted from the immediate area in which it was produced to benefit a 'powerful' *oikos* unit in the City and its dependents, often at the expense of a former beneficiary in the countryside. If I am not mistaken, this was the fate of the 'pious houses' in the wider suburban area on the Asian side, which disappear from the records after

⁵⁹ This figure includes ancient foundations which were re-established, but only counts once the monasteries (such as the Chora and St Mamas) which were re-founded twice during the period; it excludes chapels added on to larger foundations and chapels in imperial palace. The chronological breakdown is: 750–867, 24 foundations; 867–1025, 28 foundations; 1025–1081, 15 foundations; 1081–1204, 19 foundations; there are a further 14 foundations which are impossible to date precisely.

⁶⁰ See in general Kaplan, *Les hommes et la terre*, pp. 282–311; idem, 'Les moines et leurs biens fonciers à Byzance du VIII^e au X^e siècle', *Revue Bénédictine* 103 (1993), pp. 209–23.

the tenth century.⁶¹ Is it simply by chance that the Petrion old people's home, a tenth-century imperial foundation which we will discuss later, was called τὰ Γηραγάθης which is almost identical to the name τὰ Ἱεραγάθης or Γηραγάθεις used in the seventh to eighth centuries for a philanthropic establishment near Nicomedia?⁶² This may suggest the type of 'centralisation' which happened later at the pious foundation of Pylai in Bithynia. When Manuel I built a fortress at this place to accommodate the Greek inhabitants of Philomelion, the core of the settlement was no longer the hospice (ξενοδοχεῖον) attested in the eighth to tenth centuries, nor the imperial residence (βασιλικοὶ δόμοι) which had been there in 1071, but a domain (κτησείδιον) belonging to a monastery (σεμνεῖον), in all likelihood a Constantinopolitan house, that the emperor had to compensate for the lost land.⁶³ A Constantinopolitan foundation could certainly ensure the survival of its dependant houses outside the city, but it came at a price, as can be seen in the Pantokrator *Typikon*. John II Komnenos affiliated to his new foundation several monasteries in the Asian hinterland, including four well-known houses of the ninth and tenth centuries: the houses of Nossiai, Anthemiou, Galakrenai, Satyros.⁶⁴ All these communities were reduced to a very small number of monks (6 to 18), and were deprived of *bigoumenoi* of their own and put under the authority of the Pantokrator's abbot along 'with all the properties of those monasteries inside and those outside the city'. As for the revenues from these properties, it is laid down that 'after all reasonable and necessary expenditures have been made, whatever is left over of the revenue will pass to the controlling monastery of the Pantokrator'.⁶⁵

2. Even the foundation of monasteries outside Constantinople benefited urban foundations inasmuch as it ensured the maintenance of the *metochia* which were granted to provincial establishments for the lodging and support of their members who came to the City on business: there

⁶¹ Idem, 'Maisons impériales et fondations pieuses', pp. 343–6.

⁶² *Patria*, III 68, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, p. 240; *Vie de saint Théodore de Sykéôn*, ed. Festugière, p. 127, p. 129; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, p. 492–3.

⁶³ Oikonomides, *Listes de préséance*, p. 123, p. 328; Attaleiates, ed. Pérez Martín, p. 108; Kinnamos, p. 63. Cf. Mango, 'The Empress Helena, Helenopolis, Pylae', pp. 155–6.

⁶⁴ Ed. and tr. Gautier, pp. 68–72; tr. R. Jordan, *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, II, pp. 771–2; cf. Janin-Darrouzès, *Grands centres*, pp. 17–18, pp. 40–43, p. 59. The monastery of Satyros has now been identified with the impressive substructures currently under investigation at Küçükyalı: see A. Ricci, in L. Brubaker (ed.), *Byzantium in the Ninth Century*, pp. 133–49.

⁶⁵ Ed. and tr. Gautier, pp. 68–71; tr. Jordan, p. 752.

are numerous examples of this.⁶⁶

3. The authorities were evidently in favour of communities of monks establishing themselves at former 'parish' churches. This not only ensured that the churches were more likely to survive but also increased the number of their dependents. We know of the following examples: St Agathonikos,⁶⁷ St Anastasia,⁶⁸ St Demetrios at the Acropolis,⁶⁹ St Diomedes,⁷⁰ St John of the Hebdomon,⁷¹ the Archangel Michael at Sosthenion,⁷² St Mokios,⁷³ *ta Narsou*.⁷⁴
4. The trend in monastic foundations was cumulative. Byzantine convents were always in danger of being abandoned and exploited by unscrupulous patrons or neighbours, but there was also constant concern to revive them: for instance the monastery of St Mamas, which had two new founders between 1000 and 1150.⁷⁵ We should not be too pessimistic about foundations whose ultimate fate is unknown, as is proven by the

⁶⁶ See, for example, Janin *Églises*, p. 9, p. 109, p. 198, p. 390, p. 473; *Miracles of St Nicholas*, ed. Anrich, p. 357; for the Xerochoraphion monastery's *metochion*, see above, note 25.

⁶⁷ A holy monk called Mark established a community of monks there in the tenth century: Paul of Momemvasia, ed. J. Wortley, *Les récits édifiants de Paul, évêque de Monembasie et d'autres auteurs* (Paris 1987), no. 12, p. 96.

⁶⁸ This church became the monastery of the Anastasis between the ninth and twelfth centuries: Janin *Églises*, 20 ff.

⁶⁹ The *Patria* (ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, p. 295) attribute the construction of the church to Caesar Bardas (842–866); the monastery is mentioned for the first time in 1202: see Janin, *Églises*, p. 89; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, p. 385, though both authors wrongly identify it with the famous monastery of the Palaiologoi, which was at Vlanga, near the old port of Theodosius (Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, pp. 267–8).

⁷⁰ Founded by Basil I: *Theophanes Continuatus*, pp. 316–7; cf. C. Mango, in *JÖB*, 41 (1991), p. 299.

⁷¹ Monastery probably added by Basil II, who chose to be buried there: in addition to the sources cited by Janin, *Églises*, pp. 267–9, and Berger, *Untersuchungen*, p. 68, see Basil's verse epitaph, ed. S.G. Mercati, *Collectanea Byzantina* (Bari 1970), pp. 226–34; cf. M. Lauxtermann, in P. Magdalino (ed.), *Byzantium in the Year 1000* (Leiden 2003), p. 211.

⁷² Also founded by Basil II: Choniates, *Historia*, ed. van Dieten, p. 373; Janin, *Églises*, p. 348.

⁷³ Even though the church's *oikonomos* in 902 was a monk (*Theophanes Continuatus*, p. 365), the foundation of the monastery is attributed to Basil II by an impeccable source (Sp. Lampros, *Neos hell.* 8 (1911), pp. 127–8), as noted by C. Mango, 'Les monuments de l'architecture du XI^e siècle et leur signification historique et sociale', *TM* 6 (1976), p. 355.

⁷⁴ The monastery was founded before the eleventh century: see Berger, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 594–5.

⁷⁵ Janin, *Églises*, pp. 314–9.

monastery founded by Basil the *parakoimomenos*.⁷⁶

The *parakoimomenos* had built a splendid monastery in honour of Basil the Great, a monastery that bore his own name too. It was magnificently constructed, at great cost of labour, combining variety with beauty, and being endowed with abundant donations that made it more than self-sufficient.

However, the emperor, not content with simply disgracing his uncle, vented his spite on the monastery:

The emperor now wished to raze this edifice to the ground. However, cautious of acting with such overt impiety, he acted by degrees, here removing furniture, there demolishing a finely joined stone wall, and doing other things in similar fashion. He did not leave off until, as he said jokingly, he had turned the place of seclusion (μοναστήριον) into a place of care (φροντιστήριον),⁷⁷ now that its inmates would have to take care to provide themselves with the necessities of life.

It is hard to imagine how a monastery could survive such blows, and yet it reappears in 1148 as a property-owner in the area next to the Venetian quarter,⁷⁸ in 1200 among the churches visited by Antony of Novgorod,⁷⁹ and in the late fourteenth century as the place where the imperial court went to celebrate the feast of St Basil.⁸⁰

5. Founding monastic houses was fashionable and commonplace among officials, both lay and clerical. Without listing all the high-ranking people who are cited as founders or benefactors, we may cite Michael Attaleiates in the eleventh century and the father of Gregory Antiochos in the twelfth century as illustrative examples. They were both urban property owners of middling wealth who were no doubtless devout, but not excessively so as neither became monks themselves and Attaleiates married twice. Both were intent on amassing a fortune to provide for their children. Despite this, they chose to found religious houses:

⁷⁶ Psellos, ed. Renaud, I, p. 13. I have kept some expressions from the translation by Sewter, *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers*, pp. 38–9.

⁷⁷ A pun on two Greek words for monastery.

⁷⁸ TT, I, 112 (= Pozza and Ravegnani, pp. 73–4).

⁷⁹ Antony of Novgorod, tr. Khitrowo, *Itinéraires russes*, 106; for its location see below, n. 195.

⁸⁰ Ps.-Kod., p. 243. Other sources attest to its importance in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries: for references, see Janin, *Églises*, p. 59.

Attaleiates for seven eunuch monks⁸¹ and Antiochos' father for twelve poor nuns.⁸² These foundations are important precisely because they are so generic and because we know about them almost exclusively from sources linked to the founder or his family. These people were unremarkable in terms of their fortune or their asceticism. This strongly suggests that such foundations may have been common among middle-ranking people of private means.

6. In time, the fashion for founding monastic houses reached the emperors, and eventually monasteries became the chief recipients of imperial benefaction. Sometimes the beneficiaries were very large communities: according to *Theophanes Continuatus*, when Romanos I re-established the monastery of Manuel, joining it to the monastery of St Panteleimon which he founded at the same time at Ophrou Limen on the Asian side of the Bosphoros, he increased the number of monks to 800.⁸³ If we are to believe the deacon Maximos, the author of a collection of *Miracles* of SS. Kosmas and Damian, the monastery which Michael IV established beside their church at Kosmidion, outside the walls, had over a thousand monks.⁸⁴ The monastery itself was often only part of a much larger complex which could include a hospital, school, old people's home, hospice, *diakonia* and even a palace. The combination varied from place to place, but these foundations were always richly endowed with lands and tax revenues. We know that from its foundation in 1136, the Pantokrator monastery owned eighty-five properties (including entire tax districts, and without counting affiliated provincial monasteries).⁸⁵ This was the

⁸¹ Ed. and tr. Gautier; tr. Talbot, *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, I, pp. 326–76; cf. Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 99 ff.

⁸² J. Darrouzès, 'Notice sur Grégoire Antiochos (1160–1196)', *REB*, 20 (1962, p. 83 ff.; M. Loukaki, 'Contribution à l'étude de la famille Antiochos', *REB*, 50 (1992), pp. 200–201.

⁸³ *Theophanes Continuatus*, pp. 432–3: ἀνακαίνισε καὶ τὴν μονὴν τοῦ Μανουῆλος, ὡσαύτως καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὸ μοναστήριον ἐκ βάρου κτίσας τοῦ ἁγίου Παντελεήμονος, ὃ ἐπώνυμον Ὀφροῦ Λιμῆν· ἀπέκειρε καὶ ἐκέισε μοναχοὺς ὀκτακοσίους, τυπώσας καὶ σολέμνια τοῦ λαμβάνειν αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ διατροφῆς αὐτῶν, δὸς ταῦτα τῷ μοναχῷ Σεργίῳ, τῷ πνευματικῷ αὐτοῦ πατρί. For the monastery of Manuel, see Janin, *Églises*, pp. 320–22; for Ophrou Limen, see Janin-Darrouzès, *Grands centres*, 9. Despite the distance between them, they were treated in law as one single foundation, as is shown in Isaac II's chrysobull of 1192 granting the Genoese a maritime port belonging to τῇ ἐπ' ὀνόματι τοῦ ἁγίου Παντελεήμονος παρὰ τοῦ Μανουῆλ ἐκείνου ἀνεργεθεῖση μονῆ; ed. Sanguineti-Bertolotto, no. 9, p. 418 (MM, III, 31); cf. below, p. 82, p. 84.

⁸⁴ L. Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian* (Leipzig-Berlin 1907), pp. 30–31. For the origins of the church, see Mango, 'Cosmas and Damian'.

⁸⁵ Ed. Gautier, 'Typikon du Pantokrator', pp. 114–25.

last great imperial foundation, but it was not necessarily the richest.⁸⁶

Evidently, imperial involvement was decisive in the growth of monastic foundations and demographic expansion in general. Hence, it is important to establish as accurately as possible when this began.

For Cyril Mango, the first step was taken in the eleventh century, with the foundation of the monastery of the Virgin Peribleptos by Romanos III Argyros (1028–1034).⁸⁷ According to Mango this was the first in a series of what he calls great ‘abbeys’ which were in an entirely different league to previous imperial foundations; the series continued with Michael IV’s Kosmidion, Constantine Monomachos’ St George of the Mangana, Alexios I’s Orphanage, and ended with John II’s Pantokrator. It is unquestionably true that the size, scope and number of imperial foundations in the eleventh century was unprecedented, but they were also part of a longer-term evolution and it is important to outline the earlier stages. The trend began with Basil I, at the very latest, who founded the monastery of St Diomedes⁸⁸ and the convent of St Euphemia,⁸⁹ and contributed generously to the foundation of the Georgian monastery in the outskirts of the City.⁹⁰ His successor Leo VI only established a few religious foundations, but the most important was the very fine and richly endowed monastery of St Lazaros.⁹¹

We are still some way from the ‘classic’ model seen in the eleventh century. But what made the ‘classic’ model? The factors which distinguished the imperial abbeys of the eleventh century were: 1) the wide range and number of functions; 2) endowment with fiscal land; 3) incorporation into the Crown

⁸⁶ This can be judged from the description given of the monastery of the Virgin Peribleptos by Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, who visited it in 1403: in the narthex of the *katholikon*, Clavijo saw a painting of the Virgin with the founders, Romanos III and Zoe, and thirty ‘castles and cities’ which were part of the monastery’s domain: C. Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, pp. 217–18; idem, ‘Monastery of St. Mary Peribleptos’, p. 475. In the Pantokrator’s domain there were at least seven properties which would have deserved to be depicted in the same way.

⁸⁷ Mango, ‘Development’, p. 131; see also the article cited in the previous footnote.

⁸⁸ See above, n. 70.

⁸⁹ *Patria*, III 186, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, p. 274; cf. Berger, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 490–91.

⁹⁰ See the *Life of Hilarion*, tr. B. Martin-Hisard, ‘La pérégrination du moine géorgien Hilarion au IX^e siècle’, *Bedi Kartlisa*, 39 (1981), p. 135: ‘L’empereur fit don de vaisselle d’or et d’argent, de domaines et de boutiques, d’un *métobion* dans la ville, il donna les forêts qui entouraient le lieu, et il donna généreusement tout ce qui est nécessaire à un monastère’. The monastery was still in existence in 1200: Antony of Novgorod, tr. Khitrowo, *Itinéraires russes*, p. 109; cf. Janin, *Églises*, pp. 256–7.

⁹¹ *Patria*, IV 33, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, p. 288; cf. B. Flusin, ‘Un fragment inédit de la Vie d’Euthyme le Patriarche?’, *TM*, 9 (1985), p. 131; Janin, *Églises*, p. 298.

patrimony. All these features are found in two important foundations from the first half of the tenth century: the Myrelaion and the Petrion (or the Petria). The Myrelaion, founded by Romanos I Lekapenos on the site of his former residence, comprised a convent, an old people's home, a palace and a hospital; in his will, Romanos also provided for a daily distribution of 30,000 loaves at his tomb.⁹² The Petrion ultimately comprised the convent of St Euphemia founded by Basil I, and a hospital and an old people's home, both of which were founded by empress Helen, the daughter of Romanos and wife of Constantine VII.⁹³ It is also likely that the former churches of St Laurence and the Prophets Elijah and Isaiah, which were in the same area, were attached to the imperial foundation at some point; in any case, the plural form, *ta Petria*, used to describe the establishment in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, seems to indicate a number of buildings.⁹⁴ The Myrelaion and the Petrion were both richly endowed. Well before the year 1000, the Myrelaion owned lands in the region of Miletos near the mouth of the River Meander river, which were certainly granted by Romanos I.⁹⁵ Constantine VII, at the request of his wife, gave the Petrion '*proasteia*, chrysobulls and revenues'; it seems very likely to me, as I have argued elsewhere, that the *pertinentia Petrion* (ἐπισκέψεις Πετρίων) in central Greece, mentioned in the *Partitio Romaniaiae* of 1204, were part of this endowment.⁹⁶

Can we conclude that the Myrelaion and Petrion were the first Constantinopolitan houses, after Basil I's Nea Ekklesia, to receive great state domains in areas beyond the City's immediate hinterland?⁹⁷ In any case, it was because of their rich endowment with fiscal property that, in the eleventh century, the judge Eustathios Romaios cited these two houses as the supreme

⁹² See above, Chapter 1, p. 25, n. 54.

⁹³ *Theophanes Continuatus*, pp. 458–9; this establishment, which the chronicler calls τὰ Ἐλένης, must be the foundation which appears in the *Patria* as τὰ Γ (see above, p. 68, n. 62).

⁹⁴ *Peira*, XV 12, ed. Zepos, IV, p. 53; Anna Komnene, *Alexiad*, II 5.8, ed. Reinsch and Kambylis, p. 68.

⁹⁵ A *terminus ante quem* is provided by the *Life of St Nikephoros of Miletos*, ed. Delehaye, *An. Boll.*, 14 (1895), p. 143, recording a dispute between the Myrelaion and the church of Miletos brought before John II Tzimiskes (969–975); see also *Patmos*, II, no. 50, p. 15. It appears that the Myrelaion also held lands near Ephesus: *AASS*, Nov. III, col. 540 A.

⁹⁶ *Theophanes Continuatus*, *loc. cit.*; cf. Magdalino, 'Between Romaniae', 105 n. (c) (reprinted in *idem*, *Tradition and Transformation*).

⁹⁷ There was a *chartoularios* of the Nea at Thessalonica in 1097: *Lavra* I, no. 53; cf. Magdalino, *Empire of Manuel I*, p. 164 n. 208. The lands which the Sampson hospital owned near Miletos were probably granted at the time of Constantine VII's refoundation of the hospital, rather than by Justinian; see Wilson-Darrouzès, 'Cartulaire de Hiéra', pp. 33–4; Miller, 'The Sampson Hospital', p. 132 ff.

of examples of 'pious houses' (εὐαγεῖς οἴκοι), a definition which he wanted applied exclusively to imperial foundations. With this original and, no doubt, controversial definition, inspired by tenth-century fiscal policy, Eustathios recognised the Myrelaion and the Petrion as prototypes for a new class of religious foundation.⁹⁸

It is true that these foundations were established eighty years before Romanos III set up the Peribleptos, but, although at first glance it appears that there were no imperial foundations in the interim, this is unlikely. It is possible that Romanos II (959–962) founded the imperial monastery-*oikos* of *ta Kanikleion*.⁹⁹ As we have seen, although he was not emperor himself, Basil the *parakoimomenos*, the illegitimate son of Romanos Lekapenos and head of government under four other emperors, founded a monastery whose splendour aroused the jealousy of Basil II. He endowed it, no doubt, with a large part of the immense estates which had so worried John I Tzimiskes, Basil II's predecessor.¹⁰⁰ As for Basil II, he established communities of monks by three Constantinopolitan shrines: St Mokios, St John the Theologian at the Hebdomon and the Archangel Michael at Sosthenion.¹⁰¹ The Hebdomon monastery, where Basil chose to be buried, was set up, just like the Myrelaion and Petrion, as an imperial *sekretion* and put in charge of large estates.¹⁰² All of Constantine VII's successors, with the exception of Nikephoros II Phokas and John I Tzimiskes, established new monastic foundations in the capital. The exceptions are explicable: Phokas, who thought the number of religious houses and their level of wealth was already excessive, was motivated by his desire to set a good example;¹⁰³ whereas Tzimiskes founded a very luxurious monastery in his home region of Asia Minor,¹⁰⁴ before rebuilding and endowing on a

⁹⁸ *Peira*, XV 12, 3 ed. Zepos, IV, p. 53; cf. Miller, *Birth of the Hospital*, p. 113 ff., and Magdalino 'Justice and Finance in the Byzantine State', p. 105. Note that Michael Attaleiates, a career lawyer, used the term *euages oikos* for his private foundation (ed. Gautier, 'Diataxis', *passim*) and that Alexios I, while revoking the privileges of imperial foundations, differentiated between their status as *euages oikos* and the *basilikos oikos*: ed. V. Tiftixoglu and Sp. Tröianos, 'Unbekannte Kaiserurkunden und Basilikentestimonien aus dem Sinaiticus 1117', *Fontes Minores*, 9 (1993), p. 143.

⁹⁹ Berger, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 645–6; Kaplan, 'Maisons impériales', pp. 358–9.

¹⁰⁰ Skylitzes, ed. Thurn, pp. 311–12.

¹⁰¹ See above, p. 69, n. 71–3.

¹⁰² See Oikonomides, 'L'évolution de l'organisation administrative', pp. 139–40.

¹⁰³ See his Novel of 963–964: Zépos, I, pp. 249–52; ed. N. Svoronos and P. Gounaridis, *Les nouvelles des empereurs macédoniens concernant la terre et les stratiotes* (Athens 1994), 151–61; tr. E. McGeer, *The Land Legislation of the Macedonian Emperors* (Toronto 2000), pp. 90–96.

¹⁰⁴ For the monastery of Kyr Antony near Neocaesarea in the theme of the Armeniakon, see Michael the Syrian, ed. and tr. J.B. Chabot, III (Paris 1905) p. 129, as well as Nikon of the Black

grander scale the Chalke church in the Palace, originally founded by Romanos I.¹⁰⁵ It is worth pointing out that the series of new imperial foundations in the eleventh century was interrupted in a similar way by the empress Zoe whose principal work was the restoration of the church of Christ Antiphonetes, to which she added a *diakonia* and a *sekreton* to manage the lands she gave to the foundation.¹⁰⁶

It emerges from all this, that if there was a turning point in the nature of imperial foundations it was in the reign of Romanos I (921–945). The Myrelaion was not the only expression of this emperor's generosity towards monks and the poor, a generosity lauded more than once by *Theophanes Continuatus*.¹⁰⁷ Romanos I undertook the large-scale renovation of the Manuel monastery, and granted it *solemnia* (revenues sourced directly from taxation) to feed a community of 800 monks. Other sources also provide concrete examples: the monastery of Piperatos, mentioned by the *Peira*,¹⁰⁸ and the *lousma* of the Theotokos at the Neorion, listed in the *Synaxarion*, which has been discussed already and we will return to later.¹⁰⁹

If we examine the impact of population expansion on the layout of the City, it becomes even more clear that the tenth century, and the reign of Romanos Lekapenos in particular, marked a turning point. We have come to the crux of the matter: the evolution of urban space.

Towards a new configuration of the city

To understand the true extent of this evolution, we need to look to the end of the Middle Ages and examine the final outcome. On the eve of the Turkish conquest, Constantinople was made up of several minor agglomerations at some distance from each other.¹¹⁰ The two main ones were: 1) at the northern

Mountain, ed. V.I. Benešević, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum graecorum qui in monasterio Sanctae Catharinae in Monte Sina asservantur*, I (St Petersburg 1911), p. 581. This foundation was named after the hermit who had predicted 'Tzimiskes' rise to power.

¹⁰⁵ For the Chalke, see Berger, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 269–70; on the significance of Romanos' foundation, see now Magdalino, 'L'église du Phare', p. 24; S. Engberg, 'Romanos I and the Mandilion of Edessa', in Flusin and Durand (eds), *Les reliques du Christ*, pp. 123–39.

¹⁰⁶ Janin, *Églises*, p. 506–7; Oikonomides, *loc. cit.*; Magdalino, 'Constantinopolitana', p. 225 [no. VIII in this volume].

¹⁰⁷ *Theophanes Continuatus*, pp. 418–19, pp. 430–33.

¹⁰⁸ *Peira*, XV p. 4, *Zépos*, IV, p. 49.

¹⁰⁹ See above, pp. 34, and below, pp. 93.

¹¹⁰ See, in general, Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires, passim* and especially, pp. 106–7; Majeska, *Russian Travelers*; idem, 'The Sanctification of the First Region: Urban Reorientation in Paleologan

extremity of the space *intra muros*, comprising the Blachernae Palace, now practically the only imperial residence, several aristocratic houses and some large monasteries; 2) in the eastern part of the city, stretching from the Acropolis to Hagia Sophia, containing the latter and a group of monasteries. Between these two centres, but nearer to the first, there was a sprawling commercial quarter stretching along the Golden Horn across from the former Byzantine suburb of Pera, now a fortified Genoese colony, which had grown into a flourishing, independent town and was the true centre of trade between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean.¹¹¹ So trade had moved from the Marmara to the Golden Horn, while the navy had moved in the opposite direction to the port of Julian, called Kontoskalion under the Palaiologoi and Kadırga-Liman under the Ottomans, who used it in turn to harbour their warships.¹¹² At the same time, the centre of politics and administration had moved from the Great Palace to the furthest corner of the City, and was now separated from the religious centre at the Great Church. The Great Church itself remained, but now found itself at the head of a group of monasteries rather than a network of public churches. This evolution continued even after the Turkish conquest, and was completed in the seventeenth century when the Ecumenical Patriarchate moved, for the third and final time, to the centre of the Greek community in Phanari. This relocation was certainly the result of a decision made by the Ottoman and Islamic authorities, but also reflects the growth in this corner of the City during the last centuries of Byzantine rule. The same goes for the commercial importance of the Golden Horn and the role of Pera as a 'European' suburb of the Ottoman capital, both of which drew on medieval developments.¹¹³

The Komnenian programme

Although it was not until the Palaiologan period that the city's development really took shape, the plan of later development was clearly outlined before 1204, and the influence of the Komnenian dynasty is particularly apparent. Before 1094, Alexios I built a great reception hall at the Blachernae palace,¹¹⁴ and Manuel I added another between 1143 and 1153; it was at the Blachernae

Constantinople', *Actes du XV^e Congrès international d'Études byzantines*, II (Athens 1976), pp. 359–65.

¹¹¹ Cf. Balard, *La Romanie génoise*, I, pp. 179–98.

¹¹² See Stauridou-Zaphraka, 'Τὸ Κοντοσκάλιο'.

¹¹³ On the Ottoman city, see, among others, Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexicon*; R. Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVII^e siècle* (Paris, 1962), and Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*.

¹¹⁴ First mentioned in 1094: ed. P. Gautier, 'Le synode des Blachernes (fin 1094). Étude prosopographique', *REB*, 29 (1971), p. 220.

that he received Louis VII in 1147.¹¹⁵ A document of 1166 shows that members of high administrative families – an Anzas, a Makrembolites, a Pakourianos – lived in the vicinity of the Blachernae, in a quarter named *ta Pittakia*, perhaps alluding to the petitioning of government officials.¹¹⁶ At the other end of the city, Alexios Komnenos made the Orphanage by far the largest of the new imperial foundations, ‘a second city within the imperial city’ according to Anna Komnene, housing thousands of people.¹¹⁷ It also gave the area around the Acropolis a new importance, evident from the fact that John II and Manuel chose to stage their triumphal entries in this area rather than using the traditional middle-Byzantine route that led from the Golden Gate.¹¹⁸ It was Alexios and then Manuel who granted the quarters along the Golden Horn to the Venetians, Pisans and Genoese, along with the right to trade and a substantial tax break, all of which must have been a major boost in establishing this area as the new economic centre of the City. The commercial importance of the Golden Horn is clear from Ptochoprodromos’ satire against the abbots: the poor monk does his shopping in the Venetian quarter in Perama, and at *ta Eugeniou*.¹¹⁹ Finally, it was Alexios who had the dubious honour of creating, from his own family circle, including quite distant relatives, a new princely aristocracy whose palaces and retinues rivalled the emperor’s own.¹²⁰ At least one of these palaces was near the Blachernae; it was the residence of John Komnenos, the eldest son of Alexios’ eldest brother, which John converted into the monastery of Christ Evergetes.¹²¹

¹¹⁵ Odo of Deuil, ed. and tr. Berry, p. 58, p. 64; see P. Magdalino, ‘Manuel Komnenos and the Great Palace’, *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 4 (1978), pp. 101–14, reprinted in idem, *Tradition and Transformation*.

¹¹⁶ Ed. Wilson and Darrouzès, ‘Cartulaire du Hiéra-Xérochoraphion’, pp. 21–6; cf. C. Mango’s interpretation of the same place name which was applied to an area near the Praetorian Prefecture: *Studies on Constantinople*, Addenda, p. 3.

¹¹⁷ *Alexiad*, XV 7.4, ed. Reinsch and Kambylis, p. 482; see above, Chapter I, pp. 31, 42, and below, pp. 84–6.

¹¹⁸ See Magdalino, *Empire of Manuel*, pp. 240–42; and Mango, ‘The Triumphal Way of Constantinople’, pp. 178–9, suggesting that this re-routing used a much earlier, fourth-century itinerary that led from the Eugenios Gate via the Strategion. The suggestion is supported by the fact that the Eugenios Gate was used for festive arrivals in the Palaiologan period: Pachymeres VII p. 31, ed. Failler, III, p. 97; Verpeaux, *Pseudo-Kodinos, Traité d’offices*, p. 287.

¹¹⁹ Ed. Edeneier, no. IV, lines 120–21, p. 571.

¹²⁰ See Magdalino, *Empire of Manuel*, p. 180 ff., with bibliography.

¹²¹ Barzos, *Genealogiva*, no. 23; H. Schäfer, *Die Gül Camii in Istanbul* (Tübingen 1973); B. Aran, ‘The Church of Saint Theodora and the Monastery of Christ Evergetes’, *JÖB*, 28 (1979), pp. 211–28.

Other Komnenoi also founded monasteries in the north-west of the city. Adrian Komnenos, one of Alexios' brothers, founded the Virgin Pammakaristos.¹²² His son, Isaac, completed the restoration of the Chora monastery, which was started by his maternal grandmother, Maria.¹²³ In the valley between the monasteries of Chora and Pammakaristos was the Petra monastery, whose new founder at the end of the eleventh century, called John the Faster, had been supported by Anna Dalassene, Alexios' mother; a little later on, the monastery was expanded by a high official, the *protasekretis* John Ioalites.¹²⁴ The monastery which Anna Dalassene founded herself, Christ Pantepoptes, was not far away, near the Cistern of Aspar.¹²⁵ Alexios and his wife Eirene later established their monastic foundations, dedicated to Christ Philanthropos and the Virgin Kecharitomene, in the same vicinity.¹²⁶

In short, all this has the air of an aristocratic programme which favoured decentralisation, and seems to be the urban reflection of Alexios' radical, structural transformation of the Byzantine state itself. It has already been suggested that the princely palaces built by the Komnenoi were modelled, to a large extent, on a pre-existing network. We shall now examine the background to this new set-up in greater detail.

The north-west of the City

Why did Alexios favour the Blachernae palace? I think the explanation can be found in the passage where, to excuse Alexios for entrusting the government to her when he came to power, Anna Komnene lavishly praises her grandmother Anna Dalassene. Anna claims that the empress-mother was as devout as she was capable:

She... while governing the Empire, did not dedicate the whole of her day to secular affairs, but took part in liturgical offices in the holy church of the martyr Thekla which the emperor Isaac Komnenos, her husband's brother, had built...¹²⁷

¹²² H. Belting, C. Mango, D. Mouriki, *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St Mary Pammakaristos I (Fetbiye Camii) at Istanbul* (Washington DC 1978); cf. J.C. Cheynet, J.F. Vannier, *Études prosopographiques* (Paris 1986), p. 15.

¹²³ P. Underwood, *The Kariye Camii*, I (Princeton 1966), pp. 8–13.

¹²⁴ Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, p. 340 ff.; Malamut, 'Le monastère Saint-Jean-Prodrôme de Pétra'.

¹²⁵ Mango, 'The Monastery of Christ Pantepoptes', has demonstrated that it must have stood roughly on the site of the Sultan Selim mosque, and was not therefore identical with the building now known as the Eski Imaret Camii.

¹²⁶ Janin, *Églises*, pp. 188–91, pp. 525–7; Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, pp. 296–8.

¹²⁷ *Alexiad*, III 8. 5, ed. Reinsch and Kambylis, p. 106.

The Continuator of Skylitzes says this church was part of the Blachernae palace¹²⁸. It follows that the empress-mother had chosen to move here when she took charge of the government. Perhaps this choice was the result of her devotion to the memory of her imperial brother-in-law, and her passionate conviction that her husband should have succeeded him,¹²⁹ or maybe it was the fact that the Blachernae was more suitable than the Great Palace for the monastic regime she wanted to impose on the court, just as she had integrated it into her own life.¹³⁰ We have already mentioned her ties to the nearby Petra monastery.

The north-west of the City had a further resonance for the Komnenoi, which emerges from the indirect allusion in the *Alexiad* to the area where Anna Dalassene and her sons lived before they staged the coup d'état which toppled Nikephoros III Botaneiates. In this passage, Anna Komnene relates how Alexios heard a prediction that he would come to power.¹³¹ One night, he and his brother Isaac were going home from the Palace, and when they reached the place called *ta Karpianou*, a man accosted Alexios calling him 'emperor'. *Ta Karpianou* is on the Golden Horn, near the northern end of the *embolos* of Domninos.¹³² Unfortunately, Anna does not say which palace they were coming from; throughout her work she uses the words βασιλεια and ἀνάκτορα, usually without any further qualification, to describe either the Great Palace or the Palace of the Blachernae.¹³³ However, it is clear from her account of their coup that, after they entered the City, the Komnenoi found Botaneiates at the Great Palace, and Attaleiates suggests that this was his usual residence.¹³⁴ If, then, we assume that the brothers had left from the Great Palace, it follows that they were taking the coastal road up to the Blachernae. In fact, there was a house on this road, on the edge of the Pettrion, which fits in with this suggestion – this was the *oikos* which John Komnenos, the son of the first *sebastokrator* Isaac, later transformed into a monastery.¹³⁵ John was the eldest son of the eldest son of Anna Dalassene and her husband John Komnenos. What would be more

¹²⁸ Ed. Tsolakakis, pp. 107–8; cf. Janin, *Églises*, p. 141.

¹²⁹ Nikephoros Bryennios, ed. and tr. Gautier, pp. 80–83.

¹³⁰ Anna Komnene, *Alexiad*, III 6. 1–2, 8.2–4, ed. Reinsch and Kambylis, p. 100, pp. 105–6.

¹³¹ *Alexiad* II 7.4–5, ed. Reinsch and Kambylis, p. 74.

¹³² See Berger, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 455–6.

¹³³ See, for example, *Alexiad*, VII 2.4, X 9.3, ed. Reinsch and Kambylis, p. 205, pp. 309–10, where the contexts clearly indicate the Great Palace and the Blachernae respectively.

¹³⁴ *Alexiad*, II 11– III 1, ed. Reinsch and Kambylis, pp. 84–9; Attaleiates, ed. Pérez-Martin, pp. 210–12.

¹³⁵ See above, n. 121.

natural than John Komnenos inheriting the house which had belonged to his paternal grandfather and namesake?

This conclusion might seem to be undermined by another passage from the *Alexiad*, where Anna Komnene describes Alexios' and Isaac's flight from Constantinople on the morning of their revolt.¹³⁶ The whole family got up very early in the morning, taking care not to disturb Anna Dalassene's granddaughter's fiancé, who was related to Botaneiates, and lived with them along with his tutor. The brothers, accompanied by their mother, wives and children, went on foot as far as the Forum of Constantine, and from there they went on to the Blachernae Palace, leaving the women and children to take sanctuary at Hagia Sophia. In the meantime, young Botaneiates' tutor had woken up and ran after the fugitives, catching up with them just as they reached the Forty Martyrs. This church was at the great crossroads in the centre of the City and was on the road from the Petrion to the Forum of Constantine, but, if the family house was near the Petrion, then, to get to the Blachernae Palace, the brothers would have had to turn around and go all the way back along the road they had just come down with their wives and children. This seems rather unlikely. Would it not make more sense to look for their house nearer the City centre, and so discard our conclusion that the incident at *ta Karpianou* happened when the brothers were coming back from the Great Palace?

If we revise our interpretation and accept that on that occasion the brothers had left the Blachernae, then there is a location that fits both incidents perfectly: as we have seen, there was a palace near the Port of Julian which was later owned by a *sebastokrator* called Isaac Komnenos, who might well be Alexios' brother.¹³⁷ Attractive as this hypothesis is, it runs into difficulties as it would mean that Botaneiates was living at the Blachernae, whereas the story of Isaac's and Alexios' flight confirms the impression that he was not there at that point.¹³⁸ Given all of this, we will stick to the conclusion that the Komnenian 'family' house was the *oikos* which later became the monastery of Christ Evergetes, and explain the brothers' long detour into the city-centre before going to the Blachernae Palace through their concern for their nearest and dearest: well-born women and children could not be left to wander around the City on foot in the dark.

¹³⁶ *Alexiad*, II 5.1–6.3, ed. Reinsch and Kambylis, pp. 65–70.

¹³⁷ See above, p. 52.

¹³⁸ The brothers went to the stables at the Blachernae Palace to get horses for themselves and hamstring the others so they could not be used for pursuit. All this would have been difficult and very risky if the emperor and his guard were on site, especially as the young Botaneiates' tutor, after catching up with the fugitives, had gone directly to the palace to raise the alarm. All this suggests that Botaneiates was at the Great Palace.

In any case, the passage from Anna Komnene shows, in one way or another, the importance of the north-western area of the City before Alexios came to power. There is plenty of other evidence to show that the Blachernae quarter had been fashionable for some time. The Doukas family, allies of the Komnenoi, were also attached to this corner of the City. During his revolt, Alexios went to the Kosmidion to see his mother-in-law Maria, who had just started restoring the Chora monastery;¹³⁹ Michael VII withdrew to the Blachernae just before he was overthrown in 1078, and ended his days in the Manuel monastery.¹⁴⁰ The Blachernae church was where Roussel of Bailleul took his oath of fidelity after he was restored to favour¹⁴¹; the empress Zoe adopted the future Michael V in the same church.¹⁴² No doubt Michael IV stayed in the area to oversee the building of the Kosmidion monastery.¹⁴³ Even before his reign, his brother John the Orphanotrophos knew the Blachernae Palace well: it was where he interrogated Constantine Diogenes, who was suspected of conspiring with princess Theodora against Romanos III and Zoe.¹⁴⁴ Basil II and Romanos III both undertook restoration work at the church of the Virgin: Basil restored the bath annex,¹⁴⁵ and Romanos restored the church itself which became even more popular after a pre-iconoclast icon was discovered during the building works.¹⁴⁶

In addition to the church of the Virgin and its facilities – baths, a school and a notarial office – the north-west of the City had other attractions for courtiers. The area offered quasi-rural tranquility and easy access to forests full of game: the Blachernae quarter was only the beginning of a large area dotted with palaces surrounded by parkland¹⁴⁷. Living in the north-west of the City

¹³⁹ *Alexiad*, VI 1, ed. Reinsch and Kambylis, p. 69; see above, n. 123.

¹⁴⁰ Attaleiates, ed. Pérez Martín, 194; Bryennios, ed. Gautier, 249; Continuator of Skylitzes, ed. Tsolakis, 178, 182.

¹⁴¹ Attaleiates, ed. Pérez Martín, p. 183.

¹⁴² Psellos, ed. and tr. Renauld, I, p. 67.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 71–2.

¹⁴⁴ Skylitzes, ed. Thurn, p. 385.

¹⁴⁵ *Patria*, III 214, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, p. 283.

¹⁴⁶ Skylitzes, ed. Thurn, p. 384.

¹⁴⁷ Janin, *CP Byz.*, pp. 138–145, although this mis-identifies the inner Philopation or Palace of Manganes (τοῦ Μαγγάνη) with the Palace of the Mangana (τῶν Μαγγάνων) within the city, an identification also followed by the editor of Niketas Choniates, ed. van Dieten, p. 255, p. 293; cf. *ibid.*, II, p. 58. The inner Philopation was in fact outside the walls, like the outer Philopation. The name Manganes probably comes from one of Alexios Komnenos' officers, George Manganes, who played a crucial role in the negotiations with Nikephoros Melissenos shortly before the Komnenoi took over Constantinople (Anna Komnene, *Alexiad*, II 8.4–5, ed. Reinsch and Kambylis, pp. 76–7). It seems that after this his name was associated with the place where the

also had another major advantage, possibly its most important benefit: close access to fresh water. The aqueducts crossed the Theodosian wall near the Blachernae and two enormous open air cisterns, those of Aetios and Aspar, had been carved out in the Deuteron heights. Niketas Choniates comments on the conduits laid by Andronikos I (1183–1185) makes interesting reading: he says that the work was not completed and the only people to benefit were the residents of the Blachernae and its neighbouring districts.¹⁴⁸

The attractions of the area were evident long before the eleventh century. The north-west of the City experienced a building boom, largely in religious foundations, in the fifth and sixth centuries. Once again, the contribution of Justinian's successors is clear: Justin II built a palace at the Deuteron¹⁴⁹ and began the expansion of the Blachernae complex which was completed under Tiberius and Maurice. The latter added the nearby complex of *ta Karianou*, comprising a church, porticoes and an old people's home.¹⁵⁰ It was at the Blachernae that the patriarch Eutychios presented himself to Tiberius and Maurice after he was reinstated in 577.¹⁵¹ Even if Maurice did not, as the chroniclers say, actually establish the great processions in honour of the Virgin which started and finished at the Blachernae, he at least popularised them by taking part himself.¹⁵² In addition, he also helped his daughter Sopatra and her spiritual mother, Eustolia, to found a convent on the edge of the Petron.¹⁵³

Thus there was a solid basis for the medieval development of the area. This began with Theophilos, who, inspired by Maurice in all likelihood, took to the Blachernae road each week out of devotion to the Virgin and a desire

Kommenoi camped outside the City; it may also have been applied to the Aretai palace, on which see H. Maguire, 'A description of the Aretai place and its garden', *Journal of Garden History*, 10 (1990), pp. 209–13. Albert of Aix's comments on the palaces near the Golden Horn (*Recueil des historiens des croisades, Hist. occ.*, IV, pp. 306–8) should be added to Janin's list of sources.

¹⁴⁸ Niketas Choniates, ed. van Dieten, pp. 329–30; for the projected course of the aqueducts, see Crow and Bayliss, 'Water for the Queen of Cities', pp. 40–41.

¹⁴⁹ John of Ephesus, *Hist. eocl.*, III, 24, tr. Brooks, p. 111; Theophanes, p. 243. The latest reference to the palace is in the seventh-century *Miracula Sancti Artemii*: ed. Papadopoulos-Kermeus, *Varia*, p. 11; tr. Crisafulli and Nesbitt, p. 97.

¹⁵⁰ *Patria*, III, 73, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, p. 241; Kedrenos, I, p. 694.

¹⁵¹ Eustratios, *Life of Eutychios*, ed. Laga, p. 68.

¹⁵² Theophanes, pp. 265–6; Kedrenos, I, p. 694; cf. Theophylact Simokatta, VIII 4, ed. de Boor, p. 291. Clearly the *presbeia*, the Friday procession from the Blachernae to the Chalkoprateia, should be distinguished from other more infrequent processions which finished at the Blachernae: see M. van Esbroeck, *RÉB*, 46 (1988), pp. 181–90.

¹⁵³ *Syn. CP*, col. 207; Janin, *Églises*, pp. 118–19; see below Appendix II.

to show himself to the people.¹⁵⁴ Other than the work on the Great Palace, all his major urban building projects were along this road: the development of the Zeugma *xenon*,¹⁵⁵ the renovation of Maurice's buildings at *ta Karianou* to create a palace for his daughters,¹⁵⁶ the renovation of the Blachernae church,¹⁵⁷ and the construction of the first chapel of St Thekla at the Blachernae palace.¹⁵⁸ It was just by the Cistern of Aspar that Theophilos' famous associate, the *magistros* Manuel, owned a house which he converted into a monastery.¹⁵⁹ A little later, this monastery was taken up and renovated by the patriarch Photios,¹⁶⁰ while Basil I restored several churches at the Deuteron and Petrion, where he also founded the convent of St Euphemia.¹⁶¹ There was a second phase of development in the tenth century under Romanos I, who had a palace built near the Bonos cistern, undertook a second renovation of Manuel's monastery,¹⁶² and then established the Petrion hospital and old people's home with his daughter Helen.¹⁶³ In this period the north-west of the city began to take on a new importance which was not simply material but also cultural, since the *bigoumenos* of the new Manuel monastery was the spiritual father of the emperor Romanos I. This was Sergios, a nephew of Photios and close relative of another Sergios who succeeded him as abbot and became patriarch under Basil II.¹⁶⁴ Here at last was a monastery to rival the Stoudios.

The monastic expansion in this area during the tenth century did not stop there. A little later, the former monastery of St Bassian, also near the

¹⁵⁴ Pseudo-Symeon, p. 631; *Georgius Monachus Continuatus*, p. 793, p. 803, p. 809; Genesisios, ed. Lesmueller-Werner and Thurn, 51 (tr. Kaldellis, p. 67); Regel, *Analecta Byzantino-Russica*, p. 41.

¹⁵⁵ See above, pp. 50–51.

¹⁵⁶ *Theophanes Continuatus*, p. 95, p. 174; Pseudo-Symeon, p. 653, p. 658; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 476–7.

¹⁵⁷ Regel, *Analecta Byzantino-Russica*, p. 40.

¹⁵⁸ *Theophanes Continuatus*, pp. 147–8.

¹⁵⁹ Skylitzes, ed. Thurn, p. 94; Janin, *Églises*, pp. 320–21.

¹⁶⁰ See Balsamon, RP, II, p. 675: τὴν τοῦ Μανουὴλ μονὴν ἐκ κρηπίδων αὐτῶν σχεδόν, εἰς ὃ νῦν κᾶλλος καὶ μέγεθος ὀράται, κατέστησε. However, this assertion overlooks the renovation by Romanos I (see above, p. 71, p. 75), which must also have contributed to the beauty and grandeur of the monastery.

¹⁶¹ *Theophanes Continuatus*, pp. 324–5 (St Anne, St Demetrios, the Prophet Elijah), p. 339 (St Laurence); for St Euphemia, see above n. 89.

¹⁶² For the monastery, see above, n. 147. For the palace, which was really a renovation, see Skylitzes, ed. Thurn, p. 252; De cer., ed. Reiske pp. 532–5; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 613–15.

¹⁶³ For the Petrion charitable foundation, see above, p. 73

¹⁶⁴ *Theophanes Continuatus*, pp. 432–3; Skylitzes, ed. Thurn, p. 341. According to Skylitzes, they were one and the same person, but given the fifty-year gap, the doubts raised by G. Dagron seem well founded: *Histoire du christianisme*, IV, 301 n. 16.

Cistern of Aspar, was renovated by the famous ascetic Luke the Stylite with help from the patriarch Theophylact.¹⁶⁵ It is also likely that the mid-tenth century saw the foundation or renovation of another religious house in the same neighbourhood, the monastery dedicated to the Virgin, which the Greek sources call τοῦ (or τῶν) Παναγίου and the Latins knew by the name Santa Maria de Latina, sometimes qualified by the word ‘Amalfitanorum’ (of the Amalfitans).¹⁶⁶ It is not clear if this was a mixed community of Greek and Latin monks, or twin communities; in any case, the identification of one with the other is not in doubt. Towards the end of the tenth century the monastery developed close ties with St Athanasios’ Lavra at Mount Athos and with the famous painter Pantaleon in Constantinople. A century later, the monastery *του Παναγιου* still had a very good reputation, so good that Gregory Pakourianos decided to use it as a model for his own foundation at Bachkovo.¹⁶⁷

The Acropolis

We will move on now from the north-west of the city to the other end of the Komnenian urban axis, the Acropolis of ancient Byzantium. Here, Alexios Komnenos’ Orphanotropheion was without any doubt the greatest imperial foundation of the Middle Ages. It contained the orphanage, a school, a great church with clergy, several celibate communities, a hospice, a large old people’s home (which was the result of a radical centralisation of several former *gerokomeia*) and a *sekretion* for its financial management. Hence the area was transformed into a veritable city whose importance grew even further following the foundation of the Pantanassa and Virgin Panachrantos monasteries by the imperial family.¹⁶⁸ But, as we have seen, the core of the Orphanotropheion was

¹⁶⁵ *Vie de saint Luc le Stylite*, ed. Delehaye, § 39, p. 233; Janin, *Églises*, pp. 60–61.

¹⁶⁶ Janin, *Églises*, pp. 385–6, pp. 570–71. I wonder if this was not in fact a renovation of an older ‘Roman’ (i.e. Latin) monastery, either the one near the Aspar cistern or the one at the Petriion: *ibid.*, pp. 446–7; for the location, see Appendix II. On the question of cultural and religious links between Amalfi and Byzantium, see Hofmeister’s seminal study, ‘Der Übersetzer Johannes’, along with the recent work by V. von Falkenhäusen, ‘La Chiesa amalfitana’.

¹⁶⁷ See Appendix II.

¹⁶⁸ For their location, see Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, p. 375 ff. For the Pantanassa, a foundation begun by the widow of Manuel I and completed by Isaac II, see above, n. 14. The Panachrantos is first mentioned a copy of the 1073 *praktikon*, signed before 1204 by its abbot, Theoktistos (*Patmos*, II, no. 50, p. 20 with commentary, pp. 22–3), from which it emerges that between these dates the monastery had obtained the lands near Miletos given by Michael VII to his cousin, the *protovestiarios* Andronikos Doukas (see D. Polemis, *The Doukai* [London 1968], no. 21). The death of Andronikos in 1077 was followed by Botaneiates’ usurpation and the first Turkish conquest, but it seems likely that after the Byzantine reconquest the land became the property of one of

much older than this: according to our hypothesis, by Alexios' time the church of St Paul and the orphanage with its school were already there, along with the college of chanting virgins and the church of St Nicholas, which formed the hub of the convent of Georgian nuns. Alexios' contribution was essentially to increase the revenues and build homes for the poor and the old. Even here, it is not impossible that the complex simply took over pre-existing structures that could serve this purpose.

In the sixth century, Justinian and Theodora built 'enormous hostels' (ξενώνας ὑπερμεγέθεις) beside the sea near the Acropolis headland on the site of the ancient stadium, to lodge the crowds from the provinces who flocked to Constantinople to present their lawsuits before the emperor's tribunal.¹⁶⁹ No source after Procopius mentions these buildings, but if they were still standing in the eleventh century, they would have been available to Alexios for his charitable endeavours. It could be that these buildings had already been given over to the Orphanage, which might help explain the reference, in an eleventh-century text, to a tax collector who was detained at the Orphanage until he could pay off his debts.¹⁷⁰ One also wonders what happened to the monastery of *ta Spoudaion* which the *Synaxarion* says was beside the Orphanage.¹⁷¹ In any case, the area was already very much more developed than Anna Komnene's account suggests.

What seems indisputable is that in his work at the Orphanotropheion, Alexios had his eyes firmly fixed on a model which was very close in both time and place: the great complex added by Constantine IX Monomachos to the imperial house at the Mangana.¹⁷² A comparison between Psellos' description of this foundation and Anna Komnene's praise of the new Orphanage gives the impression that Alexios' foundation was remarkable in its size and extent, while Monomachos' foundation was distinguished by its luxury.¹⁷³ This is perhaps

the *protovestiarior*' children as he was the step-father of Alexios I Komnenos. In all likelihood, the monastery of the Virgin Panachrantos was founded by a powerful descendant of Andronikos Doukas, who endowed the new foundation with the lands in question.

¹⁶⁹ Procopius, *De aed.*, I, pp. 23–7. The stadium of ancient Byzantium was in the fourth region of the City, near the church of St. Menas: *Not. CP*, p. 233; Mango, *Développement*, p. 18 n. 29. Mango's and Janin's maps place the stadium on the western slope of the Acropolis, but taking into account the proximity of St Menas to the Mangana (see above, Chapter I, n. 159), it is more likely that it was beside the Bosphoros.

¹⁷⁰ Kekaumenos, ed. B. Wassilewsky and V. Jernstedt (St Petersburg 1896), p. 39, ed. G. Litavrin (Moscow 1972), p. 196.

¹⁷¹ *Syn. CP, Typ.*, 13th January, 1st June; cf. Berger, *Untersuchungen*, p. 427, p. 627.

¹⁷² See Oikonomides, 'St George of Mangana'.

¹⁷³ Psellos, ed. and tr. Renauld, II, pp. 61–3; *Alexiad*, XV 7.3–9, ed. Reinsch and Kambylis, pp. 482–5.

the clearest proof of Alexios' desire to outstrip his predecessor by creating a foundation which was not only much larger but also much more sober. After all, in the official history propagated by the Komnenian regime Constantine Monomachos was presented as a waster. It was Constantine, according to Anna Komnene, who was responsible for the type of immorality that Anna Dalassene banned at court.¹⁷⁴ Everyone knew that the Mangana monastery was, in some sense, the product of his scandalous relationship with Skleraina, as the building works had given him an excuse to visit his mistress.¹⁷⁵ Nevertheless, he was remembered for a policy of beneficent and liberal expenditure which contrasted with the harsh spending cuts and fiscal impositions of Alexios' early years. It is not by chance that Alexios chose to establish, right by the Mangana, a work of pure piety which economised on luxury in order to lavish resources on welfare. Nonetheless, it was Constantine Monomachos' sensual pleasures, rather than Alexios' piety, which initiated the re-development of this area of the city.

The Golden Horn and the Italian quarters

To finish our overview of the city, we will examine the development of the commercial quarters which stretched along the Golden Horn. Byzantine historians pass over this area in almost total silence: there were no remarkable new buildings, important residents or exciting events to record. To make up for this, we have an exceptional source for the eastern part of the southern shore in a series of charters issued by the emperors from Alexios I to Alexios III granting concessions to the three major Italian maritime republics, Venice, Pisa and Genoa. Each concession includes a fairly detailed description of the properties granted. Although it is often used, this documentation has hardly been studied as a whole. Certainly, it is not without problems, even in the grants to the Genoese, which are described in minute detail on several occasions in Greek and in Latin and complemented by further information that can be drawn from the instructions given to the Genoese ambassador by the commune in 1201.¹⁷⁶ It is more difficult than one might imagine to project their seductively precise topography on to a map of the modern city;¹⁷⁷ witness the attempt to

¹⁷⁴ *Alexiad* III 8.2, ed. Reinsch and Kambylis, p. 105.

¹⁷⁵ Psellos, ed. and tr. Renauld, I, pp. 143–4; Zonaras, III, pp. 619–20.

¹⁷⁶ Ed. Sanguineti-Bertolotto, no. XVI, p. 470.

¹⁷⁷ The most helpful landmarks are the gates in the sea-wall mentioned in the documents: A.M. Schneider, 'Mauern und Tore am Goldenen Horn zu Konstantinopel', *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse* (1950), pp. 64–107, esp. p. 80 ff.

reconstruct the plan of a palace given to the Genoese in 1192 on the basis of the two inventory descriptions.¹⁷⁸

Even in the absence of a dedicated study of these documents, it is still possible to draw plenty of useful information from them. It is possible to give at least the approximate location of the Latin settlements.¹⁷⁹ The Venetian settlement, the first to be granted,¹⁸⁰ was near Perama,¹⁸¹ and extended by later grants in 1148 and 1189. The Pisan quarter, established in 1111–1112 and expanded in 1192, lay to the east.¹⁸² The Genoese, the last to arrive, finally settled to the east of the Pisans in 1170, and received further extensions to their quarter in 1192 and 1202.¹⁸³ The Italians thus came to occupy much of the shoreline and much of the intra-mural real estate along the lower section of the Golden Horn, including the ancient harbour areas of the Proosphorion and Neorion. However, it is worth noting that for most of the twelfth century, the three colonies were separate enclaves whose boundaries did not meet. Although, in 1189, Venice acquired the French and German wharves that had previously separated the Venetian and Pisan quarters,¹⁸⁴ the Pisan and Genoese quarters remained separate; it was no doubt in the gap between them that officials from the maritime *sekretion* went to the Neorion in 1195 and 1203 to measure the ships belonging to the monastery of Patmos.¹⁸⁵

¹⁷⁸ See M. Angold, *The Byzantine Aristocracy, IX to XIII Centuries*, BAR International Series 221 (Oxford 1984), p. 264. For a recent study building on Schneider's work, see Berger, 'Zur Topographie der Ufergegend'.

¹⁷⁹ See in general Janin, *CP Byz.*, pp. 247–51; Berger, 'Zur Topographie der Ufergegend', pp. 156–63.

¹⁸⁰ The grant by Alexios I has traditionally been dated to 1082 or 1084, but a strong argument has recently been made for redating it to 1092: P. Frankopan, 'Byzantine trade privileges to Venice in the eleventh century: the chrysobull of 1092', *Journal of Medieval History*, 30 (2004), pp. 135–60.

¹⁸¹ See in general D.M. Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice* (Cambridge 1988), pp. 60–61, pp. 80–89. Jacoby, 'The Venetian Quarter of Constantinople', corrects old misconceptions and adduces much new material. I believe, however, that the author's reading of the chrysobull of 1148 has led him to place the quarter's western boundary too far to the east, and to underestimate the length of its extension to the south, along the *embolos* of Domninos. On the whole, I am more convinced by Berger, 'Zur Topographie der Ufergegend', pp. 156–9.

¹⁸² In the absence of a broader study of 'Pisan Romania', see C. Otten-Froux, 'Documents inédits sur les Pisans en Romanie aux XIII^e–XIV^e siècles', in *Les Italiens à Byzance* (Paris 1987), pp. 154–8.

¹⁸³ See Balard, *La Romanie génoise*, I, pp. 179–82.

¹⁸⁴ See below, n. 197.

¹⁸⁵ *Patmos*, II, no. 56 p. 92, no. 60 p. 130. This perhaps indicates that the shipyard (ἐξάρτυσις) of the Neorion was still under imperial control: H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer* (Paris 1966), 430f; Jacoby, 'The Venetian Quarter', p. 163. The 'Neorion Gate' was at the eastern boundary of

Even better, these documents give information about the urban fabric that pre-dated or surrounded the Latin settlements.¹⁸⁶ It is clear from even the most cursory reading that the Italians wanted to establish themselves in these areas in particular precisely because they were already important. Firstly, they were densely packed with houses and wharves, and accommodated a variety of tradesmen already established on either the main *emboloi* or in the adjacent alleyways: money changers, candlemakers, bakers, butchers, joiners, and oar-makers. Furthermore, a number of 'powerful' Byzantine landholders are mentioned in the documents either as property-owning neighbours or as former owners of the properties given to the Italians. Overall, what emerges is a complicated mosaic of profitable land rights, into which the Italians slotted as the latest arrivals on the scene.

It is worth looking in some detail at these Byzantine landlords, as the pattern of property holding in the area can throw some light on its 'archaeology' and reveal the major stages of local development before the arrival of the Italians. The following abbreviations will be used: N = a landholder neighbouring the Italian concessions; L = a landholder owning property adjacent to the Italian concessions; D = a landholder dispossessed of some property in favour of the Italians. Monasteries and churches which were fully owned by the Latin settlements are not listed.¹⁸⁷

*The Venetian quarter*¹⁸⁸

- *Sekreton* of the Petrion,¹⁸⁹ D bakery (1092).
- *Sekreton* of the Myrelaion,¹⁹⁰ D unspecified property (1092).
- Hospital of St Marcian the Oikonomos in Perama,¹⁹¹ N, L bakery and house, D a wharf in 1148 and held (under a long-lease?) by a certain Chrysobasileios at the point when it was confiscated.

the Pisan concession, between the settlement and the monastery τοῦ ἀπὸ Λογοθεῶν: Müller, *Documenti*, p. 47, p. 48; Berger, 'Zur Topographie der Ufergegend', pp. 160–63.

¹⁸⁶ On the general texture of the neighbourhoods, see Magdalino, 'The Maritime Neighbourhoods of Constantinople', pp. 223–5.

¹⁸⁷ On this subject, see R.-J. Lilie, 'Die lateinische Kirche in der Romania vor dem vierten Kreuzzug. Versuch einer Bestandaufnahme', *BZ*, 82 (1989), pp. 202–20.

¹⁸⁸ This list has been established chiefly from the chrysobulls of Alexios I and Manuel I, ed. TT, I, pp. 117–18, p. 121, pp. 111–12; ed. Pozza and Ravegnani, nos. 2 and 5. I have adopted Frankopan's date of 1092 as a *terminus ante quem* for Alexios' document.

¹⁸⁹ See above, p. 73.

¹⁹⁰ See above, p. 73.

¹⁹¹ See above, p. 32.

- The ‘Mili’ monastery (= of Μήλης or Μέλης?),¹⁹² D a house and two money exchanges (1148).
- Small church of St John Prodromos, N (1148).
- Monastery of the Akoimetoι,¹⁹³ L houses (1148).
- Monastery of the Virgin Peribleptos,¹⁹⁴ L house (1148).
- Monastery of the Parakoimomenos,¹⁹⁵ L houses and open land (1148).
- The imperial fisc and the Jewish community,¹⁹⁶ L a wharf and possibly other property (1092 or earlier).

Although not contiguous with the Venetian quarter in 1148, three other establishments deserve mention in this context as they lay on or within the new boundaries established with the quarter’s further expansion, first in 1189, when Isaac II granted Venice the wharves and *emboloi* formerly given to the French and Germans,¹⁹⁷ and then in 1204, after the Latin conquest. These are: 1) the palace, probably to the west, which had belonged to Constantine Angelos in

¹⁹² Not mentioned elsewhere. This might be a foundation by a member of a family from the south of Italy; Stephen Meles was the logothete of the *dromos* under John II: see J.-Cl. Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963–1210)* (Paris 1990), p. 35, pp. 47–8, pp. 385–6; W. Hörandner, *Theodoros Prodromos, historische Gedichte* (Vienna 1974), p. 507 ff.

¹⁹³ See Janin, *Églises*, pp. 16–17; Janin-Darrouzès, *Grands centres*, pp. 13–15.

¹⁹⁴ See above, p. 72.

¹⁹⁵ The monastery of St Basil: see above, p. 70, p. 74. Since the chrysobull mentions only the monastery’s properties, and not its physical presence, there are no grounds for locating it in the immediate vicinity, as does Berger, ‘Zur Topographie der Ufergegend’, p. 156. According to Antony of Novgorod (tr. Khitrowo, 106), it lay near the church of the Virgin where Romanos the Melodist was buried. This, the church of *ta Kyrou*, is now identified with the Kalendarhane, at some distance to the south-west of the Venetian quarter: see A. Berger in C.L. Striker and Y.D. Kuban (eds.), *Kalendarhane in Istanbul: the Buildings, their History, Architecture and Decoration* (Mainz 1997), pp. 7–17; C. Mango in *BZ*, 91 (1998), pp. 586–90.

¹⁹⁶ This, the eastern terminus of the original concession, is called ‘Ebraica’ in the chrysobull of 1092 and the παλαιὰ Ἐβραϊκὴ σκάλα by Anna Komnene in her account of the grant: *Alexiad*, VI 5.10, ed. Reinsch and Kambylis, pp. 178–9. See Jacoby, ‘Les quartiers juifs’, pp. 168–89.

¹⁹⁷ *TT*, I, p. 209; Pozza and Ravegnani, p. 107. Jacoby has shown that these properties were to the east of the existing Venetian possessions, since the former German concession is later mentioned as adjoining the church of Hagia Eirene: ‘The Venetian Quarter’, pp. 158–9.

1155;¹⁹⁸ 2) to the east, the church of Hagia Eirene at Perama;¹⁹⁹ 3) the palace or monastery founded by a *sebastokrator* or his wife, whose wall marked the southern boundary of the quarter in 1207;²⁰⁰ 4) the palace of *Alanissa* or *Lanissa* at a location called Dimakellin near an elevated section of one of the City's aqueducts.²⁰¹

*The Pisan quarter*²⁰²

- Metochion of the Trinchinarea monastery, N.²⁰³
- Monastery of the Ex-logothete (τοῦ ἀπὸ Λογοθετῶν) which is known only from Pisan and Genoese documents, N to the east.

¹⁹⁸ We know this from Genoa's negotiations with Manuel I: their ambassador was commissioned to request an *embolos* and wharves 'inter embolum Venetorum et palacium Angeli despoti': ed. Sanguineti-Bertolotto, p. 346. Hence the palace was close to the sea and probably on the western side of the Venetian concession, since to the east the obvious points of reference were the church of Hagia Eirene and the Pisan quarter. Furthermore, the waterfront between the Venetian quarter and the church consisted of the wharves granted to the French and Germans (see previous note), while on the other side the church came too close to the Pisan quarter to allow significant development in between.

Constantine Angelos was the second husband of Alexios I's youngest daughter: see Barzos, *Γενεαλογία* I, no. 38.

¹⁹⁹ Janin, *Églises*, pp. 106–7; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 447–9; for the notarial office there, see above, p. 35. That the church lay to the east is clear from its proximity to the Pisan quarter (Jacoby, 'The Venetian Quarter', p. 159), but perhaps not as far east as Jacoby supposes. It cannot have been too far from the crossing at Perama, which *pace* Jacoby (p. 156) refers to a specific location in the Venetian documents, or from the hospital of St Marcian, correctly located by Berger, 'Zur Topographie der Ufergegend', p. 151, at the northern end of the *embolos* of Domninos.

²⁰⁰ The TT edition (II, pp. 4–5) gives 'murum, qui fuit Sevatoratoris', but in Corner's edition, cited by Maltezou, 'Il quartiere veneziano', p. 49, the reading is *Sevatoratorise*. This might be the convent founded by the wife of the *sebastokrator* John Doukas, which I have previously located, incorrectly, in Thessalonica: John Apokaukos, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 'Συνοδικὰ γράμματα Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἀποκαύκου', *Βυζαντικός*, 1 (1909), p. 20; cf. *RÉB* 35 (1977), pp. 278–9. For the people involved, see Barzos, *Γενεαλογία*, I, no. 90.

²⁰¹ Jacoby, 'The Venetian Quarter', p. 166, who proposes an identification with the toponym Ἀλωνίτζιον in the *Patria* (II 47, III 7, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, p. 176, p. 216). Such a mutation of two vowels and a consonant seems unlikely; I would instead conjecture a reference to an 'Alan' princess – either the second mistress of Constantine Monomachos (Psellos, ed. Renaud, II, pp. 45–6) or Maria of Alania, wife of Michael VII Doukas and Nikephoros Botaneiates: see M. Mullett, 'The "Disgrace" of the Ex-Basilissa Maria'. *ByzSl*, 45 (1984), pp. 202–11. If the identification of *Alanissa* with *Alonitzin* is discarded, Jacoby's other topographical conjectures have to be reviewed.

²⁰² List drawn up from the chrysobull of Isaac II (1192): ed. Müller, *Documenti*, pp. 46–9 (Greek text = MM, III, 16–23), pp. 55–8 (Latin text).

²⁰³ Monastery on Mount St Auxentios in Bithynia: Janin-Darrouzès, *Grands centres*, pp. 45–7.

- The Panagiu monastery, D site of a former house (οἰκοστάσιον).²⁰⁴
- Monastery of the Virgin Peribleptos, D site of former buildings which either served as a bakery or a mill.²⁰⁵
- Monastery of Kyr Antony,²⁰⁶ D numerous commercial and residential properties within the city walls and a wharf with its appurtenances.
- The *Xenon* built by Isaac II at the church of the Forty Martyrs,²⁰⁷ D a wharf.

*The Genoese quarter*²⁰⁸

- Monastery of the Ex-logothete, D several residential and commercial properties (1170, 1192).
- Monastery of Angourion (τοῦ Ἀγγουρίου),²⁰⁹ N houses and an *embolos* (1170).
- Monastery τῆς Ὑψηλῆς, not recorded anywhere else, L an *embolos* and houses (1170, 1192).
- Monastery of the *patrikios* Theodosios or of the Archangel Michael,²¹⁰ D various houses (1192, 1202).

²⁰⁴ For the monastery, see Appendix II. This was the land taken from the monastery of Peribleptos (see following note) and was part of a much larger terrain which stretched as far south as the Pisan *embolos*. All the buildings on this land were burnt down in a fire (ἔδαφος τῶν πυρποληθέντων οἰκημάτων).

²⁰⁵ ... ἔδαφος τῶν ποτέ οἰκημάτων τοῦ μαγκυπτικοῦ ἐργαστηρίου τῆς Περιβλέπτου (Müller, *Documenti*, p. 47); 'fundus... habitaculorum quae olim fuerunt molendarii ergasterii monasterii Perivlepti' (*ibid.*, p. 56).

²⁰⁶ Janin, *Églises*, pp. 39–41, identifies this as the monastery of the patriarch Antony Kauleas (893–901), although it is never actually referred to as τοῦ Καυλέα or τοῦ Καλλίου. It is more likely to be the monastery on Mount St Auxentios which also took the name of its founder, the monk Antony, who was the spiritual father of emperors Romanos III and Michael IV: Sathas Anonymous, *MB*, VII, pp. 159–60; Janin-Darrouzès, *Grands centres*, p. 47. The monastery of Kyr Antony at Neokaisareia, founded by John I Tzimiskes (see above, n. 104), cannot be considered due to the distance which separated it from Constantinople.

²⁰⁷ This was the palace built by Andronikos I and converted into a hospital by Isaac: Choniates, ed. van Dieten, pp. 332–3, p. 445.

²⁰⁸ List based on three documents: Manuel I's chrysobull (1170); Isaac II's chrysobull with the accompanying Latin *praktikon* (1192); and Alexios III's *prostagma*, with *praktikon* (1202): ed. Sanguinetti-Bertolotto, no. IV (A), pp. 364–6; no. IX, pp. 413–33; no. X, pp. 434–44; no. XVII, pp. 475–99.

²⁰⁹ This monastery is attested in the eleventh and twelfth centuries on the Asian side of the Bosphoros; Janin-Darrouzès, *Grands centres*, pp. 27–8. It was probably refounded by the patriarch John Xiphilinos who was buried there in 1075: *Synopsis Chronike*, *MB*, VII, p. 168.

²¹⁰ Founded by the patriarch Michael Keroularios: Janin, *Églises*, p. 146.

- Monastery of Manuel,²¹¹ D three wharves (1170, 1192, 1202), L houses (1202).
- The *sekretion* of the Myrelaion, L a plot of land (1192).
- Monastery of St Bassian, which had become the *metochion* of the monastery τῶν Ἐλεγκμῶν in Bithynia,²¹² L houses (1202).
- Monastery of the Peribleptos, L houses (1202).
- Church of Hagia Dynamis,²¹³ L houses (1192, 1202).
- Convent τοῦ Μανδουλᾶ, not mentioned elsewhere, N (1192, 1202).
- Monastery of St Demetrios (of the Acropolis), N (1192, 1202).²¹⁴
- The imperial fisc, D a palace which had belonged successively to a Botaneiates and to a Kalamanos.

It is striking that there are almost no lay landlords in this list. All the important lay people with interests in the quarter were tenants. It was not until the end of the twelfth century that the Latin settlements stretched as far as the princely palaces which stood on the high ground to the south or on the coast to the west. As for religious ownership, we can see among these landlords a small group of very old foundations which were all close neighbours: the hospital of St Marcian, the churches of Hagia Eirene in Perama and Hagia Dynamis. All the other identifiable landlords were monasteries or imperial *oikoi* with monastic cores, and only two of them, the monastery of the Ex-logothete and the monastery of St Demetrios, were in the immediate neighbourhood. Property in this area was valued above all for the income it produced, rather than its proximity.

We can be even more specific. All the identifiable monasteries, with the possible exception of the Trinchinarea, were foundations of the tenth and eleventh centuries. These included a good number of the tenth-century foundations that have been discussed already: the two imperial *oikoi* at Myrelaion and Petrion, the monastery of Basil the *parakoimomemos* and the three monasteries by the Aspar cistern – the monasteries of Manuel, St Bassian and of the Virgin *tu Panagiu*/St Mary of the Latins. In contrast, among the eleventh-century foundations only the Peribleptos was an urban house of the highest order; all the others, although favoured by emperors and patriarchs, were much more

²¹¹ See above, p. 71, p. 75, p. 83.

²¹² Janin-Darrouzès, *Grands centres*, pp. 144–8, and see above, n. 165.

²¹³ Meaning the Divine Power; one of God's qualities like Eirene (Peace) and Sophia (Wisdom) to which the famous buildings of the Great Church were dedicated: Janin, *Églises*, p. 101.

²¹⁴ See above, n. 69.

modest, suburban houses. However, what is even more striking is the absence of ninth-century foundations, or houses founded by the Komnenoi.

In Byzantium, as a rule, people tended to enrich religious institutions they considered their own, of which they were 'founder-possessors' (*ktetores*).²¹⁵ It is thus reasonable to assume, in the absence of contrary indications, that a title deed was granted at the point when the favoured establishment was founded or re-founded. If the property in the Latin settlements and their surroundings belonged exclusively to tenth and eleventh-century foundations it follows that these endowments were made in that period. To be a gift pleasing to God, an endowment had to be valuable and not liable to legitimate claims by a third party, so prospective religious benefactors, notably the emperors, in the tenth and eleventh centuries must have been well possessed of attractive properties in the lower Golden Horn area that they were able to dispose of freely. To be attractive, a property had to produce an income; in order to be still available for endowment in a City where existing religious landlords, particularly the Great Church itself, had appropriated shops and workshops centuries ago, property in the area cannot have become an attractive proposition until recently. In other words, the economic growth in the lower Golden Horn area roughly coincided with the foundation of the monasteries which were given property there, and is unlikely to have predated the reign of Romanos I Lekapenos.

Romanos' interest in the districts along the Golden Horn is shown in a source which we have already looked at in connection with the *diakoniar*: the *Synaxarion*'s description of the church and *lousma* of the Theotokos at the Neorion. Since the church and bath had fallen into disuse, Romanos wanted to pull them down and use the material to build a palace. However, the Virgin intervened, appearing in a dream to a young boy who was related to the *raiktor* John, a senior officer of the court, to forbid the demolition of the church. On hearing this news, the emperor was so overawed that he restored the bath, bathed there with his sons and granted a *solemnion* to the foundation which he then gave as a *metochion* to the monastery of the *raiktor* in Galakrene (in the Asian suburbs).²¹⁶

This edifying story shows Romanos not only making a pious investment on the edge of the Neorion but also looking in this area for building materials

²¹⁵ On the proprietary character of Byzantine religious endowment, see G. Dagron, 'Héritier de soi-même', in J. Beaucamp and G. Dagron (eds.), *La transmission du patrimoine. Byzance et l'aire méditerranéenne* (Paris 1998), pp. 81–99.

²¹⁶ *Syn. CP*, col. 935–40; see above, Chapter I, p. 34. For the monastery or monasteries in Galakrenai, see Janin-Darrouzès, *Grands centres*, pp. 40–44, and I. Ševčenko, 'An Early Tenth-Century Inscription from Galakrenai with Echoes from Nonnos and the *Palatine Anthology*', *DOP*, 41 (1987), pp. 161–8.

for his new palace. We may note that the sumptuous palace which Isaac II gave to the Genoese in 1192 was not very far from here. At that time the palace was known by the names of two aristocratic families who had lived there recently, the Botaneiates and the Kalamanos, but the detailed description of the palace's church includes architectural features (a central cupola supported by four columns) and interior decoration (ceramic tile revetment) which indicate a tenth-century date.²¹⁷ Three other factors support the idea that this was in fact the palace Romanos built:

1. Romanos built several palaces in Constantinople.²¹⁸
2. Directly below the Botaneiates-Kalamanos palace were three maritime wharves which, before they were granted to the Genoese, had belonged to the Manuel monastery – a monastery richly endowed by Romanos. It seems likely then, that Romanos gave these harbours to the monastery, and that they were in his gift as they were attached to his palace.
3. Before becoming *basileopator* and emperor, Romanos was *droungarios* of the fleet, in other words commander of the navy, and his interest continued after his coronation.²¹⁹ As a result, Romanos knew the Neorion, with its port and arsenal (ἔξάρτυσις) very well, and it is not difficult to imagine that he might have wanted to build a residence for himself in this area.²²⁰

Although the harbour was reserved for the war fleet, the Neorion had an impact on the local civil economy: it attracted immigrant sailors and the crafts associated with the navy. The oar-makers were still based nearby in the twelfth century even though the military significance of the harbour seems to have waned.

As we have seen, the Neorion's significance dated back to the end of the seventh century when the emperor Leontios had the port dredged, but it did not really take off until the second half of the ninth century when the imperial government started to act in earnest to counter the Arab conquest of Sicily

²¹⁷ See S.E.J. Gerstel and J.A. Lauffenburger (eds.), *A Lost Art Rediscovered. The Architectural Ceramics of Byzantium* (University Park PA 2001), p. 230.

²¹⁸ *Theophanes Continuatus*, p. 431: οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν Βασιλείον πόλιν περιφανῆ παλάτια ἐκαινούργησεν. This suggests that the palace by the Bonus cistern (Skylitzes, ed. Thurn, p. 292) was not the only one.

²¹⁹ *Theophanes Continuatus*, p. 390 ff.: Romanos was in the *exartysis* while he was preparing his coup d'état. See also the account by Liudprand (*Antapodosis*, V 15, ed. Chiesa, pp. 131–2) of the defensive preparations made against the Rus' invasion of 941.

²²⁰ See H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer* (Paris 1966), p. 430 ff.

and Crete.²²¹ From the reign of Basil I onwards, the imperial fleet based at Constantinople became more and more active as is clear from the documents added to the *Book of Ceremonies* detailing the preparations in 911 and 949 for the reconquest of Crete.²²² Two elements stand out: the purchase of equipment in the City and the recruitment of foreign sailors. Although only Rus and Dalmatians are mentioned explicitly, it is very likely that other maritime communities on the edge of the Empire also took part, particularly the Amalfitans and Venetians who were, as Liudprand of Cremona remarks contemptuously, the men most visible in Nikephoros II Phokas' armed forces.²²³ In another part of his *Legatio*, relating his diplomatic mission to Constantinople in 968, Liudprand complains that the merchants of Amalfi and Venice were completely free to trade in the type of silks that the Byzantine customs officers had tried to confiscate from him.²²⁴ There were already Amalfitans in Constantinople in 945 when, according to Liudprand's *Antapodosis*, they supported Constantine VII against the deposed sons of Romanos I.²²⁵ In the same period, an Italian merchant tried to carry off a bronze statue from the Hippodrome.²²⁶

The beginnings of the Italian settlements

These Italians who combined military service with privileged trading, got involved in political struggles within the imperial City and tried to steal its treasures, were a sign of things to come under the Komnenoi and Palaiologoi, especially as the prefect of Amalfi had been granted the title of *patrikiōs* at some point between 920 and 922.²²⁷ It seems this was granted by Romanos Lekapenos who thus, here again, hastened the development of the medieval City. Was he the first to grant the Italians trading posts in Constantinople? One fact should be stressed here: there is no record of any Italian city owning

²²¹ For an overview, see *ibid.*, chapter 3.

²²² *De cer.*, ed. Reiske, pp. 651–60, pp. 664–78; new edition with translation and commentary by J.F. Haldon, 'Theory and Practice in Tenth-Century Military Administration', *TM*, 13 (2000), pp. 201–352

²²³ *Legatio*, § 45, ed. Chiesa, p. 207: 'qualis sit eius exercitus hinc potestis conicere, quoniam qui ceteris praestant Venetici sunt et Amalfitani'. This refers particularly to the naval forces who accompanied his expeditions.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, § 55, ed. Chiesa, pp. 211–12.

²²⁵ *Antapodosis*, V 21, ed. Chiesa, pp. 135–6.

²²⁶ *Vie de saint Luc le Stylite*, ed. Delehay, *Les saints stylites*, § 5, p. 221.

²²⁷ See Balard, 'Amalfi et Byzance'; U. Schwarz, *Amalfi in frühen Mittelalter*, p. 34.

a wharf or an *embolos* in the City before the grant made to the Venetians in Alexios I's chrysobull.²²⁸

It is often written that the Venetians moved into the area just next to an established Amalfitan enclave separating the Venetians from the district which would become the Pisan quarter.²²⁹ However, this statement does not stand up to critical examination. The only time an Amalfitan quarter is mentioned is in Isaac II's chrysobull for Pisa (1192). A close reading of this text reveals that the wharf held by the Amalfitans in fact belonged to Pisa,²³⁰ what is more, the city wall and the whole of the Pisan quarter (not just the *embolos* and church of St Peter, but all the land covered in burnt-out houses granted to Pisa in the same chrysobull) stood between the other Amalfitan properties and the harbour.²³¹ There is absolutely no suggestion that the Venetian concession bordered Amalfitan holdings, or that the Venetian concession was granted after rights were granted to Amalfi. In fact, it is quite possible that the Amalfitans benefited from an agreement modelled on the treaty between Alexios I and Venice. Such an agreement might have been drawn up when Amalfi fleetingly threw off Norman rule at the end of the eleventh century and re-established political ties with Byzantium, for which the new duke Marino was rewarded with the elevated title of *pansebastos*, only slightly inferior to the *protosebastos* title that Alexios had just conferred on the Venetian doge.²³² Alternatively, the agreement might have resulted from the treaty between Alexios and Pisa (1111), which owed a great deal to Amalfitan mediation.²³³

It is true that Alexios' chrysobull for Venice does grant the church of St Mark one *nomisma* per year from each of the workshops operated by the Amalfitans in Constantinople and elsewhere, a stipulation which might be

²²⁸ Cf. M.E. Martin, 'The Chrysobull of Alexius I Comnenus to the Venetians and the Early Venetian Quarter in Constantinople', *BSI* 39 (1978), pp. 22–3.

²²⁹ See, for example, Janin, *CP Byz.*, pp. 246–247; Balard, 'Amalfi et Byzance', p. 87.

²³⁰ This was the furthest west of the four Pisan landing-stages until they were granted those which had belonged to the monastery of Kyr Antony and the *xenon* of the Forty Martyrs; cf. Müller, *Documenti*, pp. 48–9, p. 57.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, 47, 56–7. Berger, 'Zur Topographie der Ufergegend', p. 161, has reached the same conclusion.

²³² See A. Hofmeister, 'Zur Geschichte Amalfis in der byzantinischen Zeit', *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher*, 1 (1920), pp. 126–7; see also J Mazzolini and R. Orefice, *Il Codice Perris. Cartulario Amalfitano, sec. X–XV* (Amalfi 1985), no. 92 (document of 4–10 January 1100).

²³³ Mauro, the archbishop of Amalfi, and Mosco, the Amalfitan judge, attended the oath taking performed by the Pisan consuls before the imperial envoy; cf. Müller, *Documenti*, p. 43, p. 52; V. von Falkenhausen, 'La chiesa amalfitana', pp. 113–14.

taken to suggest that Venice was taking Amalfi's privileged place.²³⁴ However, the same chrysobull shows that the Venetians themselves also already occupied *ergasteria* in the City,²³⁵ the difference now was that they, and no other Italians, gained ownership rights they had not had before, and they got to humiliate their old rivals by collecting the dues the Amalfitan tradesmen had formerly owed to the Byzantine state. If the presence of Amalfitans in Byzantium was more conspicuous than that of the Venetians in the decades immediately preceding Alexios' accession, it was because Amalfi played such a crucial role in the Doukas emperors' relations with the Papacy and the Normans.²³⁶

The Amalfitan presence in Byzantine territory between 1060 and 1081 is evident from the Constantinopolitan houses of rich Amalfitan patricians such as Pantaleone, the son of count Mauro and Lupino, the son of Sergio,²³⁷ their trading posts in the provinces in Antioch, Dyrrachion and possibly at Raideostos,²³⁸ and, above all, from the churches and monasteries they founded in Constantinople and at Mount Athos. If the Amalfitans had a 'quarter' in Constantinople before the Venetians did, this was only in the sense that they were the first to establish their own religious centre there. We know of two Amalfitan monasteries in the City: the monastery of St Mary of the Latins which, as we have seen, was below the Petriion at some distance from the premises held by the Amalfitans in 1192,²³⁹ and a church which was 'under the jurisdiction of and, as it were, within' a church of Hagia Eirene which is very likely to be the church of Hagia Eirene in Perama.²⁴⁰ Perhaps this refers to the

²³⁴ Ed. TT, I, 117; Pozza and Ravegnani, p. 39: 'ab unoquoque in magna civitate et omni Romania Amalphynorum omnium qui sunt sub potestate eius qui dicitur patriciatu'. This *patriciatu* has not been explained; conceivably it could mean that the Amalfitan businessmen were answerable to an imperial official with the title of *patrikius*, such as the *Constantinus imperialis patricius* attested in 1080: Schwarz, *Amalfi*, pp. 61–2.

²³⁵ This seems to me to be implied by the specification that the Venetians receive 'queque habitantur et que non habitantur, et in quibus Venetici permanent et Greci sicut ergasteriis'.

²³⁶ Schwarz, *Amalfi*, p. 53 ff.; V. von Falkenhausen, 'La chiesa amalfitana', p. 104, p. 112.

²³⁷ Amatus of Montecassino, *L'ystoire de li Normant*, VIII 3, ed. V. de Bartholomeis, *Storia de'Normanni d'Amato di Montecassino, volgarizzata in antico francese* (Rome 1935), p. 342; Johannis Monachus, *Liber de miraculis*, ed. Huber, p. XVII (prologue to the *Life of St Irene*). Cf. Balard, 'Amalfi', p. 88, p. 92; V. von Falkenhausen, 'La chiesa amalfitana', pp. 96–7, p. 104.

²³⁸ Balard, 'Amalfi', p. 88; Magdalino, 'The Grain Supply', pp. 40–41 [no. IX in this volume].

²³⁹ See above, p. 84, and Appendix II.

²⁴⁰ Johannis Monachus, ed. Huber, *loc. cit.* Hofmeister, 'Der Übersetzer Johannes', p. 231, rightly observed that the Amalfitan church itself was not that of Hagia Eirene.

monastery of the Holy Saviour, if that can really be distinguished from St Mary of the Latins.²⁴¹

But to return to the tenth century: in Liudprand's time, the Amalfitans and Venetians were both on the same footing and, whatever this western ambassador says about their preferential treatment, they were both jostling for position with other foreign merchants. Otherwise, it is difficult to explain why they settled on the Golden Horn and not at the Port of Julian which had attracted the bulk of maritime trade since the sixth century. Their presence on the northern coast of the City is connected not only to the Neorion but also, and most importantly, to another centre of economic activity on the Golden Horn: the Saracen hostel beside the church of Hagia Eirene in Perama,²⁴² where the great fire of 1203 started in a brawl between Latins and Muslims. Although the source, Choniates, talks about a mosque (συναγωγή), he does give, as an aside, the common name used for the place, 'Mitaton', which instantly reveals its true, original purpose. It reflects a commercial function known from the *Book of the Prefect*: a *mitaton* was basically a type of caravanserai where foreign merchants were obliged to stay and store their merchandise.²⁴³ Indeed, the Saracen *mitaton* of 1203 can plausibly be identified with one of the establishments mentioned in the tenth-century text, and specifically with the 'one house of the *mitata*' and/or the 'one place in the *embolos*' where visiting Syrian merchants were to divide imported silk goods among themselves and with other, resident Syrians who had been in Constantinople for ten years.²⁴⁴ The use of the plural form in the *Book of the Prefect* does suggest the use of other *mitata*, and we know of a large one at the church of the Forty Martyrs,²⁴⁵ but the presence of the mosque at Perama clearly indicates that this was the *mitaton* most frequented by Muslim merchants. By 1203, more of them probably came from Egypt than from Syria,²⁴⁶ but there is no reason to suppose that the basic arrangements, or the locale, had changed, even if the mosque itself was a recent addition.²⁴⁷

²⁴¹ *Chronicon archiepiscoporum Amalfitanorum*, ed. P. Pirri, *Il duomo di Amalfi e il chiostro del Paradiso* (Rome 1941), 178, commented on by Schwarz, *Amalfi*, pp. 105–7, and von Falkenhausen, 'La chiesa amalfitana', p. 87.

²⁴² Ed. van Dieten, pp. 553–4.

²⁴³ *Ep. Bibl.*, IV 8; V 2, 5; VI 5; IX 7.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, V 2.

²⁴⁵ The Mercati Anonymus, ed. Ciggaar, 'Une description de Constantinople', p. 257: 'Apud mitatum est ecclesia XL martirum'.

²⁴⁶ See D. Jacoby, 'Byzantine Trade with Egypt from the Mid-Tenth Century to the Fourth Crusade', *Θησαυροφυλάκιο*, 30 (2000), pp. 25–77, esp. pp. 61–74; repr. in idem, *Commercial Exchange*.

²⁴⁷ On the two mosques in Constantinople, Janin, *CP byz.*, 257–9, is still a clear and sensible summary of the evidence. See also S.W. Reinert, 'The Muslim Presence in Constantinople, 9th–15th Centuries: Some Preliminary Observations', in H. Ahrweiler and A.E. Laiou (eds.), *Studies on*

Merchants from Amalfi and Venice traded with the Arab world before turning towards Constantinople,²⁴⁸ and so it is easy to understand why they originally stayed next to the Arabs, and why they started to settle more permanently in the area around Perama. Before they were privileged foreigners, they were just plain foreigners, and the Golden Horn was their rightful place: next-door to the Muslims, and just down the road from the Jews, before the latter were moved, probably in 1044, across the water to Pera, close to the City's leper-hospital.²⁴⁹ Throughout the centuries, the Byzantines boasted about the natural advantages of this great natural port,²⁵⁰ and yet for much of the Middle Ages its lower reaches on both sides were peopled with social outsiders. The Golden Horn took a long time to shake off its bad reputation, which is difficult to explain, but may have originated with the sixth-century plague.

Until now we have concentrated on the lower part of the Golden Horn's shore. What about the districts along the coast from Perama to the Blachernae? There is good reason to believe that the lower stretch of this coastline, between the Venetian quarter and the northern end of the Constantinian wall, was commercially active and attractive. From the tenth century, this area was known as the Heptaskalon (= seven wharves) which suggests busy maritime traffic.²⁵¹ Somewhere inland from the Heptaskalon was a market, the Leomakellon, whose name suggests it dealt mainly in foodstuffs, though a perfumer-druggist had a shop there in the twelfth century.²⁵² It must have been in the general area of the Heptaskalon that Genoa wanted to establish its quarter when the commune negotiated for a concession in 1155, instructing its ambassador to request, as first choice, 'an *embolos* and *skalai* ... between the *embolos* of the Venetians and the palace of the Despot Angelos'.²⁵³ The concession the Genoese eventually obtained, at the old harbour of Proosphorion to the east of the Pisan quarter,

the Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire (Washington DC 1998), pp. 125–50, although the author assumes (p. 142) that the mosque was the *raison d'être* for the hostel rather than vice-versa.

²⁴⁸ See now M. McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy* (Cambridge 2001), chapter 18.

²⁴⁹ For the leprosarium, see above, Chapter I, n.75; on the Jews, Jacoby, 'Les quartiers juifs', pp. 168–89; idem, *Byzantium, Latin Romania and the Mediterranean*, nos. III–V.

²⁵⁰ Procopius, *De aedificiis*, I 5, 13; Leo the Deacon, p. 129; George Pachymeres, V 10, ed. and tr. Failler, II, p. 469.

²⁵¹ Cf. G. Prinzing and P. Speck, 'Fünf Lokalitäten in Konstantinopel', in Beck (ed.) *Studien zur Frühgeschichte Konstantinopels*, p. 188 ff.; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 464–8.

²⁵² See Berger, 'Zur Topographie der Ufergegend', pp. 152–5; Magdalino, 'Maritime Neighbourhoods', p. 221. The location of the Leomakellon and the question whether it was the same as the Dimakellin has now been greatly complicated by the discovery that the latter was near an aqueduct: see Jacoby, 'The Venetian Quarter', p. 166.

²⁵³ See above, n. 198; Magdalino, 'Maritime neighbourhoods', pp. 221–2.

was their second choice.²⁵⁴ The area to the west of the Venetian quarter was thus apparently more commercially desirable.

However, the commercial importance of the coastline beyond the Constantinian wall is a mystery before 1204. Two factors suggest that this coastline was distinctly less developed: there were probably no *emboloi* inside the sea wall²⁵⁵ and it is certain that the Petrion district had little or no room for development along the shore, as the crusaders were able to bring their ships right up to the walls in their assaults of 1203 and 1204.²⁵⁶ On the other hand, it should be remembered that the residential district in the north-west of the city was growing more and more important, especially after the court moved to the Blachernae under the Komnenoi: the devastation caused in the first great fire of the Fourth Crusade shows that the Blachernae, Petrion and Deuteron districts were quite densely built up.²⁵⁷ In addition, under the Palaiologoi, the great warehouses and the principal food market were on this coastline.²⁵⁸ Was this concentration of population and facilities simply a thirteenth-century development? The Petrion district no doubt benefited from being added to the Venetian quarter after 1204, but the fact that the Venetians were keen to occupy it suggests that they regarded it as potentially profitable from their past experience.

In this connection, we need to consider to what extent the great religious foundations of the eleventh and twelfth centuries were endowed with maritime wharves and other commercial property in the City. It is odd that the *Typikon* of the Pantokrator names only a handful of fairly modest urban properties in its long list of endowments and property rights: the houses of three aristocrats (Oumpertopoulos, Sarantenos, Raoul), the house of the metropolitan of Athens, and three building plots (οἰκοστάσια).²⁵⁹ It is equally strange that, as has been discussed, the landlords of property in the lower Golden Horn area

²⁵⁴ Sanguneti-Bertolotto, p. 346: 'Et si ibi non posses in perforo'. On the Proosphorion harbour, cf. Janin, *CP Byz.*, p. 235; Mango, *Développement*, p. 15

²⁵⁵ The *Patria* (I 68, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, p. 148; Magdalino, 'Maritime Neighbourhoods', p. 224) claims that Constantine built the two *emboloi* which ran along the shores of the Marmara and Golden Horn as far as Rabdos and the church of St Antony respectively. Whether or not the attribution is correct, it does seem to indicate the presence of a series of porticoed steets parallel to the coast of much of the peninsula east of the Constantinian wall.

²⁵⁶ Villehardouin, tr. Faral, I, pp. 174–5, § 172; II, pp. 38–9, §237, pp. 42–5, § 242; Niketas Choniates, ed. Van Dieten, pp. 544–5, pp. 568–70.

²⁵⁷ See above, p. 61. n. 30.

²⁵⁸ Pachymeres, XIII 10, ed. Failler, IV, pp. 637–9; Gregoras, I, p. 21; II, p. 847; Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires*, pp. 97–100, p. 106.

²⁵⁹ Ed. and tr. Gautier, pp. 122–5; tr. Jordan, *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, II, pp. 771–2.

included none of the top-ranking religious houses founded or refounded after the Peribleptos (established 1028–1034). Perhaps the lack of available property explains these oddities; but this explanation needs to be qualified.

Firstly, it is clear that new imperial foundations tended to incorporate a good number of older establishments that were allocated to them as dependents, along with their urban and rural real estate which may have been substantial. This was presumably what happened to the *gerokomeia* which the Orphanage inherited when it was refounded by Alexios I, and it was demonstrably the fate of the monasteries in the Asian suburbs which were subordinated to John II's Pantokrator.²⁶⁰ They were simply made over to the new foundation 'with all conditional and unconditional rights belonging to them'.²⁶¹ Under this brief heading were subsumed a whole list of diverse and scattered assets too numerous for the *Typikon* to enumerate in full. We know the past history of one of them: the church and *lousma* of the Theotokos at the Neorion.²⁶² Restored in the ninth-century as part of a rich court dignitary's *oikos*, it then became an independent institution which fell on hard times and narrowly avoided demolition by Romanos I. Romanos, however, restored it and made it the urban *metochion* of the suburban monastery of Galakrenai. If it survived into the twelfth century, it would thus have passed into the Pantokrator's estate twenty-five years after the Pisans moved into the Neorion neighbourhood.

As for the surprising gaps in the list of landlords who held property which either bordered the new Latin settlements, or was swallowed up by them, might this not suggest the relatively *low* value that, after 1050, the great Byzantine landowners placed on real estate in this part of the City? Did the emperors allow the Italians to expand where they did as an exceptional privilege, or to avoid treading on the toes of exceptionally privileged proprietors with interests in other areas? Could the Italian concessions even be indicative that the districts between Perama and the Blachernae now surpassed the lower Golden Horn area in commercial importance? This would be taking speculation too far, but it should be stressed that the Italian documents only illustrate a relatively small part of Constantinople's harbour capacity in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The other main piece of evidence, the passage of Michael Attaleiates, conjures up an image of a city *ringed* with commercial landing stages owned by great religious houses, and suggests that this was a long-standing arrangement.²⁶³

²⁶⁰ See above, p. 68, n. 64.

²⁶¹ Ed. and tr. Gautier, pp. 122–5; tr. Jordan, *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, II, pp. 771–2.

²⁶² See above, pp. 34, 93.

²⁶³ See above, p. 55, n. 208.

Landing stages were to be found even on the shore of the Bosphoros, where the current was very strong.²⁶⁴ They were surely a much more frequent occurrence in the less exposed coasts of the City and its suburbs, where the numbers of boats and ships made such an impression on the crusaders of 1203–4.²⁶⁵

²⁶⁴ There was a pier at the Acropolis where foot passengers could disembark: for example, *Vie de Saint Luc le Stylite*, ed. Delehaye, *Les saints stylites* § 25, p. 220; for the Eugenios Gate, see above n.118. Pope Martin I came ashore near the Arkadianai: PG 92, col. 592; P. Peeters, 'Une vie grecque du pape saint Martin I', *An. Boll.*, p. 51 (1933), 258. Villehardouin commented on the strength of the current (§ 239, ed. Faral, II, p. 41): this was why the Venetians advised against making a direct assault on the sea walls along the Marmara or Bosphoros.

²⁶⁵ See above, p. 62, n. 33.

Conclusion

From the ninth century until 1204, Constantinople enjoyed a period of uninterrupted expansion which falls into two major phases: the first began with Romanos I Lekapenos and the second with Alexios I Komnenos. The importance of Alexios' role has been recognised for some time and all I have done is to add a few more details; however, the Komnenian urban programme did little more than follow lines of development which had been established for at least two centuries. By outlining the take-off that occurred during the first half of the tenth century, I hope I have unveiled the role of the man who was the real force behind the Byzantine re-modelling of the City which emphasised the role of the great imperial *oikoi* and free trading rights for the privileged and foreigners. No individual acts alone, and everyone draws on the past, but if there is one ruler who deserves to be associated with the beginnings of the urban evolution examined here it is Romanos I Lekapenos.

Constantinople's medieval development would eventually lead to the city's various functions and facilities being dispersed across the city; however, this was not the immediate result during the period of expansion itself. Up until 1204, the appearance of these new centres on the Golden Horn, in the Blachernae district and elsewhere, did not mean that the old economic, political and ceremonial centre of the City was abandoned in any way. The Great Palace, the Great Church and the Hippodrome were still going strong. Notaries and teachers carried out their duties in church precincts in the centre of the city, as at the church of the Forty Martyrs; high quality goods were sold at the Milion and in the Forum of Constantine.¹ People were still using bathing facilities established in the sixth century, like the bath at *ta Areobindou*, where John Tzetzes remarked on the water spout in the shape of a cockerel.² There is absolutely nothing to suggest that the port of Julian suffered as a result of the Golden Horn's expansion; the old port was hardly in a state of collapse, and, if it had lost its commercial importance it is hard to understand

¹ Ptochoprodromos, ed. Eideneier, IV, v. 119, 450, 456, 572.

² Scholium in Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 660 a, ed. W. J. W. Koster, *Scholium in Aristophanem*, IV, 2, (Gröninggen-Amsterdam 1960), p. 541: ὄρας ὅπως ὁ ἀλεκτρυόν οὗτος νοημάτων βλύειν ἤρξατο χύσεις, ἤπερ χύσεις ὑδάτων ὁ ἀλεκτρυόν ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἀρεοβίνδου λουτρῶνι ἐστώς.

why emperor Isaac II would bother to set up a hostelry (πανδοχεῖον) there in the old *oikos* of the *sebastokrator* Isaac.³ It seems better to assume that the new centres developed alongside, rather than at the expense of, the old centre which also profited from the general expansion. The clearest evidence to support this suggestion comes from the great fire which broke out near the Neorion in 1203 and devastated the majority of the built-up area between the Golden Horn and the Marmara. Niketas Choniates' account of the fire echoes the hagiographical and chronicle descriptions of the fire in 465, not to mention the most terrible fire of the Ottoman period which swept through the city in 1865.⁴ The fire of 1203 swept through practically the same urban areas as in 465. This suggests that the majority of the population was concentrated in the same districts, and with a similar degree of density, as at the time of the City's initial growth. This was the area between the two coasts, stretching from Hagia Sophia in the east to the Philadelphion in the west, in other words the 3rd–9th regions of the ancient city.

However, in contrast to the situation in the fifth and nineteenth centuries, the fire in 1203 was started by a foreign army and preceded the violent assault which left Constantinople in the hands of suspicious, greedy and rapacious conquerors with neither the desire nor the means to repair the damage they had caused.⁵ The Greeks who recovered Constantinople in 1261 had the best of intentions, but did not have the resources at their disposal to restore the gutted city to what it had been in the twelfth century.⁶

³ Niketas Choniates, ed. van Dieten, p. 445; see above p. 55, p. 89. The word πανδοχεῖον is the source of the Arabic *funduq* and *fondaco* in Italian, which were used for the exact equivalent of a Byzantine *mitaton*; the word also appears in Greek in the form φούνδαξ; on this see Magdalino, 'The Grain Supply', p. 40; and on the institution in general, O.R. Constable, *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World. Lodging, Trade, and Travel in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2004).

⁴ Niketas Choniates, ed. van Dieten, pp. 553–5; Madden, 'The Fires of the Fourth Crusade', p. 74 ff. For the 465 fire, see Mango, *Développement*, p. 51; Schneider, 'Brände', p. 383; G. Dagron, 'La Vie ancienne de saint Marcel l'Acémète', *An. Boll.*, 86 (1968), p. 314. For the 1865 fire, see Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, pp. 55–6.

⁵ For a more upbeat assessment of the impact of the Latin occupation, see now D. Jacoby, 'The Urban Evolution of Latin Constantinople', in Necipoğlu (ed.), *Byzantine Constantinople*, pp. 277–97.

⁶ See A.-M. Talbot, 'The Restoration of Constantinople under Michael VIII', *DOP*, 47 (1993), pp. 243–61.

Appendix I

The known *diakoniai* in Constantinople

I. Name, date of evidence

1. τῶν Εὐγενίου 685–695 9th–10th c.¹
2. τῶν Δεξιοκράτους 7th c.³
3. τοῦ Γερμανοῦ 7th–8th c.
τοῦ λούσματος τῶν Γερμανοῦ 959⁶
4. τῶν Μαυριανοῦ 7th–8th c.⁷
5. τῶν Πέτρου 7th–8th c.⁹
6. τῶν Τζήρου/Στείου 867–886 (rest.)¹¹
7. τοῦ νεῶ Βλαχερνῶν 9th c.¹³

II. Associated institutions, foundation date indicated in the sources

- church, old people's home 379–395²
 church, old people's home 408–450⁴
 λοῦμα 364–383³
- church of St Anastasia 4th–5th c.
 hospice 919–944⁸
- church, old people's home 527–565¹⁰
 church, old people's home 4th c.¹²
 church 5th–6th c.,
 λοῦμα 457–474, rest. 976–1025 = (?)
 δημόσιον λουτρὸν 578–602¹⁴

¹ *Life of St Andrew of Crete*, AIS, V, 174; Laurent, *Sceaux*, V, 2, no. 1212.

² *Patria*, III 21, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, p. 220; Janin, *Églises*, p. 178; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 742–3.

³ Laurent, *Sceaux*, V, 2, no. 1211.

⁴ *Patria*, III 72, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, p. 241; Janin, *Églises*, p. 88; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 475–6.

⁵ Laurent, *Sceaux*, V, 2, no. 1923; ed. Oikonomides, 'Quelques boutiques', p. 345.

⁶ *Patria*, III 141, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, p. 259; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 746–7.

⁷ Laurent, *Sceaux*, V, 2, no. 1215.

⁸ *Patria*, III 42–3, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, pp. 233–4; *Theophanes Continuatus*, p. 430; Janin, *Églises*, p. 22; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, p. 442 ff.

⁹ Laurent, *Sceaux*, V, 2, no. 1217.

¹⁰ *Patria*, III 87, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, p. 249; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 350–52.

¹¹ *Theophanes Continuatus*, p. 339; Janin, *Églises*, pp. 471–2.

¹² *Patria*, III 24, 29a, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, pp. 220–21, p. 225; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 386–8.

¹³ Laurent, *Sceaux*, V, 2, no. 1921; Zacos and Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, no. 2008; Dmitrievski, *Opisanie*, II, 1042 ff.

¹⁴ *Patria*, III 74–5, 214, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, pp. 241–2, p. 283; *Theophanes*, p. 244, p. 251, p. 261; *De cer.*, ed. Reiske, pp. 551–6; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 539–42; cf. Mango, 'Cosmas and Damian', p. 191.

8. τῶν Ἀρματίου 9th c.¹⁵ church, old people's home, λουῖμα 582–602¹⁶
9. τῶν Ρεοβίνδου(Ἀρεοβίνδου) 9th c.¹⁷ church, λουῖμα 582–602 (P)
λουτρὸν 12th c.¹⁸
10. τοῦ ἀγίου Μωκίου 10th c.¹⁹ church 324–337
monastery 976–1025²⁰
11. τῶν Οὐρβικίου 10th c.²¹ church 4th c.
monophysite monastery 548²²
12. τοῦ Ευλινίτου τοῦ λούσματος 959²³ λουτρὸν, monastery (?) 840–860²⁴
13. τοῦ Τροπαιοφόρου 1047²⁵ *oikos* of various institutions 1042–1047²⁶
14. τοῦ Ἀντιφωνήτου 9th–11th c.²⁷ church, *sekretion* c.1042–1050²⁸
15. μονῆς Θεοδώρου 12th c.²⁹ monastery 5th c.³⁰
16. (τῶν Ἀνθημίου 10th c.) church, old people's home, λουῖμα 5th c.³¹
17. (τῶν Ὁδηγῶν 11th–12th c.) monastery, λουῖμα, λουτρὸν 9th c.³²
18. (τῆς Θεοτόκου ἐν τῷ Νεωρίῳ) church, λουῖμα, 843–867, rest. 919–944³³

¹⁵ *Life of St Theophano*, ed. E. Kurtz, 'Zwei griechische Texte über die heilige Theophano', *Mémoires de l'Académie de Saint-Petersbourg*, 8^e série 3, 2 (1898), p. 18.

¹⁶ *Patria*, III 61, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, p. 238; Janin, *Églises*, pp. 157–8; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 497–9, p. 504.

¹⁷ Laurent, *Sceaux*, V, 2, no. 1209; Leo the Grammarian, p. 235; *Theophanes Continuatus*, p. 822.

¹⁸ Theophanes, p. 277.

¹⁹ *De cer.*, ed. Reiske, p. 802, p. 806.

²⁰ *Patria*, III 3, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, p. 215; Janin, *Églises*, pp. 354–8; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 635–8; see above, p. 62.

²¹ *De cer.*, ed. Reiske, p. 802, p. 806.

²² *Patria*, III 22, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, p. 220; Janin, *Églises*, p. 207; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, p. 404–6; see above, p. 32.

²³ Oikonomides, 'Quelques boutiques', p. 346.

²⁴ *Patria*, III 195, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, p. 276; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 648–9.

²⁵ John Mauropous, ed. P. de Lagarde and J. Bollig, *Iohannis Euchaitorum Metropolitae quae in Cod. Vat. Gr. 676 supersunt*, *Abhandlungen des hist.-phil. Classe der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* 28 (Göttingen 1882, repr. Amsterdam 1979), nos. 71–72, p. 37.

²⁶ Janin, *Églises*, pp. 70–76; Oikonomides, 'St George of Mangana'.

²⁷ Laurent, *Sceaux*, V, 2, nos. 1207–1208.

²⁸ Janin, *Églises*, pp. 506–7; see above, pp. 33–4, p. 67.

²⁹ Laurent, *Sceaux*, V, 2 no. 1218.

³⁰ Janin, *Églises*, pp. 154–5.

³¹ *Miracles of St Artemios*, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Varia*, pp. 27–8; *Patria*, III 106, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, p. 251; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 507–8.

³² *Patria*, III 27, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, p. 223; Balsamon, ed. K. Horna, 'Die Epigramme des Theodoros Balsamons', *Wiener Studien*, 25 (1903), pp. 190–91, 200; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 376–8; 'Discours narratif', ed. Angélidi.

³³ *Syn. CP.*, col. 935 ff.; Janin, *Églises*, p. 198.

19. τοῦ ἁγίου Μαρτινακίου 6th c.³⁴
20. τῶν Βήρου 7th c.³⁵
21. τοῦ ἁγίου Κορωνάτου 7th c.³⁶
22. τοῦ ἁγίου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Γερμανικίου 7th–8th c.³⁷
23. τῆς Θεοτόκου 7th–9thc.³⁸
24. τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων τῶν ἐν Βοθρεπίῳ 10th c.³⁹
25. τῶν Ἀθανασίου 10th c.⁴⁰

³⁴ Laurent, *Συναγ.*, V, 2 no. 1924.

³⁵ Laurent, *Συναγ.*, V, 2 no. 1222.

³⁶ Laurent, *Συναγ.*, V, 2 no. 1214.

³⁷ Laurent, *Συναγ.*, V, 2 no. 1922.

³⁸ Laurent, *Συναγ.*, V, 2 no. 1219; Zacos and Veglery, no. 317.

³⁹ Laurent, *Συναγ.*, V, 2 no. 1216.

⁴⁰ Laurent, *Συναγ.*, V, 2 no. 1210.

Appendix II

The monastery τοῦ/τῶν Παναγίου and the monastery of St Mary of the Latins

It has never been suggested that the Amalfitan monastery of Santa Maria de Latina should be identified with the Byzantine monastery of Panagiou, but it seems to be the obvious solution given the convergence of the following facts:

1. John, an Amalfitan monk who translated hagiographical texts in the eleventh century, wrote in his prologue to the translation of the *Life of St Irene* that he had found the Greek text in the monastery *panagiotum* where he lived ('in hoc sancto monasterio *Panagiotum* in quo hospitor').¹ Vera von Falkenhausen saw that this clearly referred to the Panagiou monastery. Moreover, she assumed that this was also where he translated the *Book of Miracles* and wrote to Pantaleone, the dedicatee, that there was no scribe or notary there, or even anyone who knew Latin.² However – unless this was just a flimsy excuse – it is unlikely that he would have encountered such difficulties in Constantinople, a city which so many of his countrymen came to, and especially in a monastery which was more or less next door to a Latin community (see below). He grumbles elsewhere about his extreme old age although there is no reference to this in the other prologue. Hence, there is reason to think that he translated the *Book of Miracles* at a later date and somewhere other than Constantinople, possibly at Mount Athos.
2. According to the 'Anonymous of Mercati' St Mary of the Latins was above the Petron, beside the convent of St Eustolia which was next door to the convent of St Matrona and near the Manuel monastery.³ This agrees perfectly with the present location of the church of the

¹ Johannes Monachus, *Liber de miraculis*, ed. Huber, XVIII: Hofmeister, 'Der Übersetzer Johannes', 230 n. 11.

² Ed. Huber, 2: V. von Falkenhausen, 'La chiesa amalfitana', p. 88, p. 102.

³ Ed. K. Ciggaar, 'Une description de Constantinople', pp. 259–60, p. 262.

Panagiotissa as well as with the notice in the *Synaxarion* which places the convent of St Eustolia πλήσιον τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Παναγίου.⁴

3. That Amalfitan monks were established at Mount Athos owed a great deal to the reputation and encouragement of St Athanasios whose Great Lavra had strong connections with the Panagiou monastery.⁵
4. The famous painter Pantaleon was well-acquainted with the Panagiou monks and very well-disposed to them. Pantaleon was a name that was very widespread in the Amalfitan aristocracy but rare in truly Byzantine territory.⁶
5. Initially, the Amalfitan community at Mount Athos was very closely linked to the Georgian community. Gregory Pakourianos, who was either a Georgian noble or an Armenian with a Georgian background, and disliked the Greeks, chose to model his own monastic foundation on the Panagiou.⁷
6. Before 1192, the Panagiou monastery held property bordering the Amalfitan quarter on the Golden Horn.⁸

It is true that the difference between the names still poses a problem, but it could be that the name *Panagiou*, which only appears in the second half of the eleventh century, is much later than the foundation of the monastery itself and came from a very well regarded *bigoumenos*, possibly the man Gregory Pakourianos admired. Paul Lemerle wondered if this was the monk who foiled the attempted marriage between Nikephoros Botaneiates and Eudokia, the widow of Constantine X.⁹ The most recent editor of the Continuator of Skylitzes preferred the manuscript reading which gives this man's surname as Πανάρετον, rather than Πανάγιον.¹⁰ However, there was a man called Panagios

⁴ *Syn. CP*, col. 203; cf. Mathews, *Photographic Survey*, p. 366 ff.; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexicon*, pp. 204–5.

⁵ *Life of Athanasius*, ed. Noret, Vita A, § 158, 254, pp. 74–5, pp. 122–3; Vita B, § 43, 78, p. 176, pp. 211–12; cf. pp. CXXXII–CXXXIII.

⁶ *Life of Athanasius*, *loc. cit.*; cf. I. Ševčenko, 'On Pantaleon the Painter', *JÖB* 21 (1972), pp. 241–9, and Hofmeister, 'Der Übersetzer Johannes', p. 240: 'In Amalfi ist der Name Pantaleo so zu Hause wie kaum irgendwo sonst'.

⁷ *Iviron I*, p. 36; B. Martin-Hisard, 'La Vie de Jean et Euthyme et le statut monastique du monastère des Ibères sur l'Athos', *RÈB*, 42 (1984), pp. 20–23, pp. 66–9, pp. 72–3, pp. 82–3, pp. 130–31; cf. Lemerle, *Cinq études*, pp. 113–91.

⁸ Müller, *Documenti*, 47 (= MM, III, 8).

⁹ *Lavra*, I, pp. 27–30; Lemerle, *Cinq études*, pp. 132–3, citing Kedrenos, II, p. 738.

¹⁰ Ed. Tsolakis, p. 182.

in Constantinople, who was the uncle or tutor of one of the priests at the Great Church and the Blachernae, and acted as a witness to a document in 1100.¹¹

¹¹ *Iviron* II, no. 50, p. 22: Κωνσταντῖνος πρεσβύτερος ὁ τοῦ Παναγίου The formula ὁ τοῦ was very common among the clergy at the time and refers to a person rather than an institution.

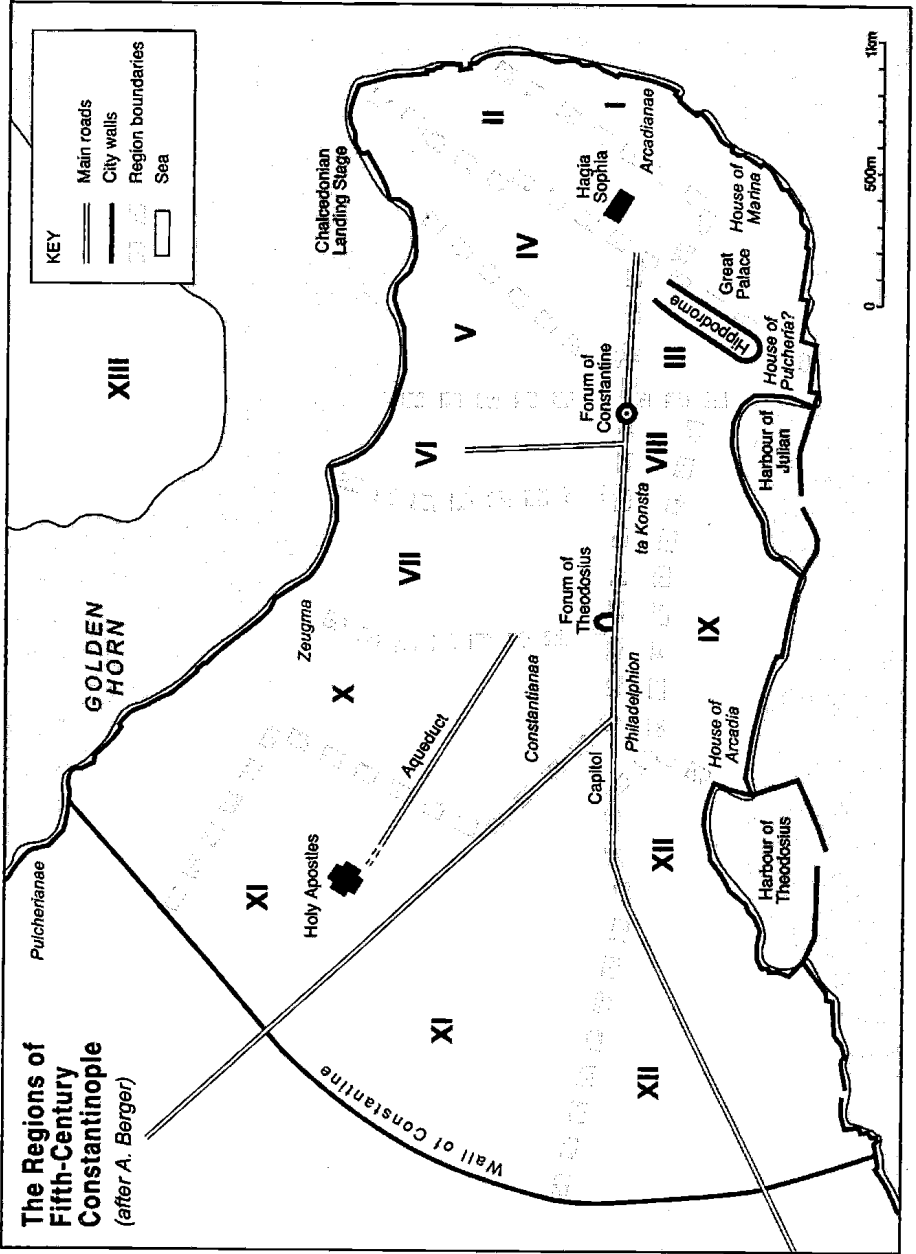
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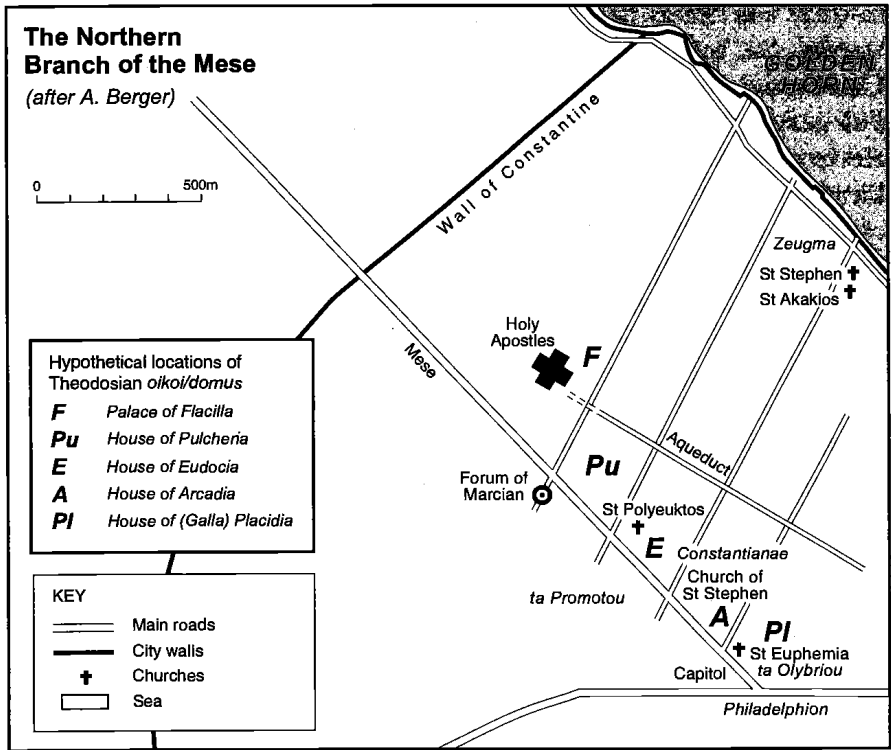
ARISTOCRATIC *OIKOI* IN THE TENTH AND ELEVENTH REGIONS OF CONSTANTINOPLE

Constantinople grew as a westward extension of ancient Byzantium. As a result, it is all too easy to visualize the city of Constantine and Theodosius as an organism, like a moth or a flatfish, where the center of gravity and the nerve center were firmly located towards the eastern corner of the developing urban triangle. Reading the accounts of the city's foundation in Zosimus and the *Chronicon Paschale*,¹ and looking at the remains of Constantine's column, the Hippodrome and Hagia Sophia, one quickly forms the impression that west of the Forum of Constantine, Constantinople slipped gradually away into suburbia. This may have been how things turned out, but was it how the city was envisaged by its founder and his successors who shaped it in the first century of its existence? It seems to me that emperors and imperial families from Constantine to Theodosius II were concerned to deploy the whole of the urban space defined by the Constantinian land wall. It was close to this wall that Constantine built his mausoleum, complete with a bath and palace complex, and it was near the center of the intra-mural area that he established the Capitol of the New Rome, exactly equidistant from the mausoleum and the forum that were the major monuments to himself. Theodosius I constructed the largest of the city's harbors to the south-west of this nodal point, and his successors Arcadius and Theodosius II laid out a forum with a triumphal column less than one kilometer from the Constantinian Golden Gate. The *Notitia* of Theodosius II does not show a city which was demographically weighted towards its east end; if anything, the disparity was between north and south.² The highest concentration of ordinary dwellings

¹ Zosimus, *Hist. nov.*, II.30, ed. F. Paschoud, I (Paris, 1971), 102-4; *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. L. Dindorf (Bonn, 1832), 528-9.

² *Notitia CP*, 229-43; cf. A. Berger, "Regionen und Straßen im frühen Konstantinopel," *IstMitt* 47 (1997), 349-414.





lay outside the area of ancient Byzantium. It was highest in the sixth, seventh and tenth regions, which had 484, 711 and 636 *domus-insulae* respectively. The north-west quarter of the city was thus one of the most densely inhabited. While the impressive figure of 636 *domus-insulae* in the tenth region was partly due to the size of the region, it has to be noted that a significant part of the area was taken up by two large uninhabited structures, the Baths of Constantius (*thermae Constantianae*) and a Nymphaeum, and three low-density habitations, namely the palatial residences (*domus*—*oikoi*) belonging to women of the imperial family:³ the Augusta Placidia,⁴ the Augusta Eudocia,⁵ and the Nobilissima Arcadia.⁶ The presence of these aristocratic *oikoi*

³ On the women in question, see in general K. Holum, *Theodosian Empresses* (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1982).

⁴ Daughter of Theodosius I and Galla: *PLRE II*, 888–9 (Aelia Galla Placidia 4).

⁵ Wife of Theodosius II: *PLRE II*, 408–9 (Aelia Eudocia 2).

⁶ Sister of Theodosius II: *PLRE II*, 129 (Arcadia 1).

in what was otherwise an ordinary residential quarter is in itself noteworthy. So, too, is the concentration of these *oikoi* in the west of the Constantinian city, where, together with the house of the Augusta Pulcheria⁷ and the palace of Flaccilla⁸ (*palatium Flaccillianum*) in the eleventh region, they formed a pendant to the group of imperial residences clustered around the Great Palace at the east end: the palace of Placidia, and the houses of Placidia, Marina and Pulcheria. Only the house of Arcadia in the ninth region did not obviously belong, by location, to either group; however, it should probably be counted among the satellites of the Great Palace, given that Arcadia had another house in the tenth region. For the symmetry and the separateness of the two groups are underlined by the fact that the houses of Pulcheria, Placidia and Arcadia in the west of the city were all second homes, which suggests that the residences in this area had a different function, perhaps corresponding to a different seasonal use, or a different focus, from their counterparts further south and east.

Where exactly were the Theodosian *domus* in the tenth and eleventh regions? The *Notitia* of Theodosius II has recently been the subject of a detailed study by Albrecht Berger, which provides both a basis and an incentive for the solution of this and other topographical problems posed by the document.⁹ By correlating the data of the *Notitia* with a variety of textual and material evidence for the street plan of Constantinople, Berger has produced a precise and detailed reconstruction of the “skeleton” of the fifth-century city which is likely to remain, at least in the near future, the working map of the twelve inner urban regions. At the same time, Berger’s study serves to underline the continuing difficulty of locating other parts of the urban organism within the regional boundaries. The Theodosian houses in the tenth and eleventh regions are a prime example of this. Berger has declared that the houses of Placidia and Eudocia are “mangels weiterer Angaben nicht lokalisierbar,” and that the palace of Flaccilla “läßt sich innerhalb der Region nicht lokalisieren.” He tentatively suggests locations for the houses of Arcadia and Pulcheria, on the basis of supposed associations with the quarters known from other texts as the Pulcherianae and Arcadianae.¹⁰ Un-

⁷ Sister of Theodosius II: *PLRE* II, 929–30 (Aelia Pulcheria).

⁸ Second wife of Theodosius I: *PLRE* I, 341–2 (Aelia Flavia Flaccilla).

⁹ Berger, “Regionen und Straßen,” *passim*.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 370, 371.

fortunately, neither of these associations can be accepted. There is clear evidence that the Arcadianae corresponded to the Baths of Arcadius in the first region;¹¹ as for the Pulcherianae, Berger himself gives good reasons for concluding that this complex definitely lay outside the Constantinian wall. So the enquiry has to begin afresh.

While there is nothing in the *Notitia* to indicate that the Theodosian residences in the western neighborhoods were close together, the analogy of the eastern cluster suggests that this was the case, and invites us to look for a common focus in the general area where the tenth and eleventh regions adjoined. Such a focus clearly existed in the complex of the Holy Apostles. Where the tenth region is concerned, it is also reasonable to suppose that the imperial ladies might have had their residences in a different part of the region from the neighborhoods where the apartment blocks of the 636 lower-class households were situated. What the tenth region had in common with the other urban regions of high population density was its position beside the Golden Horn. It therefore seems sensible to situate the lower-class housing in the northern part of the region, along the Golden Horn, and to seek the Theodosian palaces further south, in the area where we know the Baths of Constantius to have been. This hypothesis is amply confirmed by evidence that the Constantianae were the center of an aristocratic neighborhood in the fourth to sixth centuries. Elsewhere, I have pointed to indications that the residence of the sixth-century senatorial lady Hilara may have stood on the site later occupied by the Pantokrator monastery.¹² The *Life* of Olympias, the devoted supporter of St. John Chrysostom, says that she owned a house near the Baths of Constantius, where she resided, in preference to her two other urban residences, which were at *ta Olympiados*, near the Great Church, and at *ta Euandrou*, whose location cannot be identified.¹³ This plurality of town houses clearly predates the Theodosian examples and foreshadows the pattern that they reveal. Somewhere near the Constantianae stood *ta Areobindou*, evidently the house of the Gothic general Flavius Areobindus or his grandson of the same name.¹⁴ The father-in-law of Areobindus junior, the Roman patrician and erstwhile western emperor Olybrius, owned

¹¹ Proc., *De aed.*, I.11; cf. Janin, *Églises*, 340.

¹² Magdalino, *CP médiévale*, 46–7.

¹³ *AnBoll* 15 (1896), 413–4; *PLRE* I, 642 (Olympias 2).

¹⁴ *Patria*, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, II, 237–8; *PLRE* II, 143–6 (Areobindus 1, Ariobindus 2).

ta Olybriou, to the south-east of the Constantianae.¹⁵ On the other side of the Constantianae was the palace of Olybrius' daughter Anicia Juliana, who has become immortalized by the church of St. Polyeuktos which she rebuilt next door.¹⁶ Not far from St. Polyeuktos stood the church of St. Christopher at *ta Promotou*, which evidently occupied the site of the house of Theodosius I's *magister militum*, Promotus.¹⁷ The houses of Olybrius, Juliana and Promotus all lay beside the northern branch of the city's central avenue, the Mese. While the house of Promotus probably lay south-west of the avenue, there are good reasons for thinking that the houses of Olybrius and Juliana were on the north-east side, along with the Constantianae. Firstly, in the *De cerimoniis, ta Olybriou*, the Constantianae and St. Polyeuktos are described as a continuum along the processional route to the Holy Apostles. Secondly, the exact position of St. Polyeuktos, as determined by the excavations at Saraçhane, relative to the aqueduct and to other more or less fixed points (the Fatih Camii, on the site of the Holy Apostles, the column and Forum of Marcian, the site of the Philadelphion near the Laleli mosque) which mark the approximate alignment of the avenue, makes it extremely unlikely that the avenue could have passed to the east of the church. Thus if the avenue formed the boundary between the tenth and eleventh regions, as Berger plausibly suggests, the houses of Juliana and Olybrius would have come within the tenth region.

St. Polyeuktos is in fact the key to locating not merely the aristocratic neighborhood of the Constantianae, but at least two of the Theodosian *domus* of the *Notitia*, because the builder of the church, Anicia Juliana, was descended from two of the Theodosian empresses in question: the Augusta Eudocia and the Augusta Placidia were her maternal great-grandmothers.¹⁸ Her descent from Eudocia was clearly crucial to her rebuilding of St. Polyeuktos, for in the famous dedicatory epigram (*Anth. Pal.* I 10) it is stated that her church replaced

¹⁵ *Patria*, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, II, 237; *PLRE* II, 796–8 (Anicius Olybrius 6).

¹⁶ *PLRE* II, 635–6 (Anicia Juliana 3); on the church of St. Polyeuktos, see Harrison, *Saraçhane*, I; idem, *A Temple for Byzantium* (London, 1989). Juliana's palace, τὰ 'Ιουλιανῆς, is mentioned in *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf, 517, and its location next to St. Polyeuktos is indicated by Gregory of Tours, *De gloria martyrum*, *PL* 71, cols. 793–5, reproduced with translation by Harrison, *Saraçhane*, I, 8–9.

¹⁷ J. Pargoire, "À propos de Boradion," *BZ* 12 (1903), 486–7; *PLRE* I, 750–1 (Flavius Promotus).

¹⁸ See *PLRE* II, 408–9, 888–9, 1308–9 (Stemmata).

a smaller one erected by Eudocia.¹⁹ We do not know exactly when this earlier structure was built, although we may presume that Eudocia started work on it before she left Constantinople in 441 to go and live in Palestine, where she remained until her death in 460.²⁰ Perhaps the most likely moment is the interval following her return from her first pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 439. The dedication to St. Polyeuktos is a mystery, for although, as Marlia Mango has pointed out, this Mesopotamian martyr was the patron saint of Eudocia's spiritual father Euthymios,²¹ she did not come under Euthymios' influence until 455, long after she had left Constantinople.²² One might then have to suppose that the church was originally dedicated to some other saint, a possibility to which we shall return. As for the choice of location, this is most easily explained if the church was built on land to which Eudocia had some kind of proprietary right and facility of access. Since the church was later adjoined by the residence of her great-granddaughter Anicia Juliana, we need have little hesitation in identifying this house, *ta Ioulianes*, with the *domus* of Eudocia in the tenth region.

St. Polyeuktos was not the only church in the tenth region to which Juliana inherited an interest from her Theodosian ancestors. Another epigram in the Palatine Anthology (*Anth. Pal.* I 12)²³ celebrates the building and decoration of the church of St. Euphemia at *ta Olybriou* by a trinity of noblewomen over three generations: Eudoxia Licinia, daughter of Theodosius II;²⁴ her daughter Placidia along with her husband Olybrius;²⁵ and their daughter Anicia Juliana, who was evidently responsible for the decorative phase in which the epigram was inscribed. It is interesting that although the property bore the name of Olybrius, who had no doubt resided there, the initiative in building the church was apparently taken by his mother-in-law. This and the fact that Olybrius came from a Roman senatorial

¹⁹ Ed. H. Beckby, *Anthologia Graeca* (Munich, 1957), I, 126–30; text reproduced with English translation by Harrison, *Saragane*, I, 6–7.

²⁰ For Eudocia in the east, see also E. D. Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire, A.D. 312–460* (Oxford, 1982), 221–48.

²¹ Review of Martin Harrison, *A Temple for Byzantium*, in *Apollo* (February 1991), 136.

²² Cyril of Scythopolis, *Life of Euthymios*, ed. E. Schwartz, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis, Texte und Untersuchungen* 49 (Leipzig, 1939), 47–9, §30; cf. A.-J. Festugière, *Les moines d'Orient*, III/1 (Paris, 1962), 101–3.

²³ Ed. Beckby, I, 130–2.

²⁴ *PLRE* II, 410–1 (Licinia Eudoxia 2).

²⁵ *PLRE* II, 886 (Placidia 1); for Olybrius, see above note 15.

family with no previous Constantinopolitan connections suggest that the property had belonged to the Theodosian family and had come to him through his marriage to Placidia, the daughter of Eudoxia Licinia and Valentinian III. The reason Olybrius' name rather than theirs became attached to it was probably that he reached Constantinople ahead of them in 455, when he fled there to escape the Vandal attack on Rome, leaving Eudoxia and Placidia to enjoy six or seven years of Vandal hospitality in North Africa before the Vandal king, Geiseric, allowed them to join him. The dedication of the church underlined the Theodosian connection, as well as the family's strict Chalcedonian orthodoxy, given that it was Theodosius II's sister Pulcheria who had chosen the basilica of St. Euphemia in Chalcedon to be the venue of the Fourth Ecumenical Council in 451. *Ta Olybriou* thus probably corresponded to another of the *domus* mentioned in the *Notitia*. Of the remaining possibilities, the houses of Arcadia and Placidia, that of (Galla) Placidia seems the most likely. It was from this grandmother that the wife of Olybrius inherited her name; Galla Placidia it was, too, who as daughter of Theodosius I and mother of Valentinian III provided Olybrius with the claim to the western empire which he gained through his marriage and which he finally exercised in 472. The house of Placidia was therefore the most fitting residence for a western Roman emperor in waiting.

At some time between its foundation and 518, St. Euphemia at *ta Olybriou* became home to a monastic community.²⁶ We may reasonably connect this development with the deaths of Olybrius and Placidia, and conclude that when the monks moved in, Anicia Juliana moved out of this, her parents' home, into the palace adjoining the church of St. Polyeuktos which she had inherited from her great-grandmother Eudocia. That the two houses were fairly close together is clear from the *De cerimoniis*: St. Euphemia was the first stop after St. Polyeuktos on the processional route returning from the Holy Apostles to the Great Palace.²⁷ However, the two properties do not seem to have adjoined, because the *De cerimoniis* also specifies that when the emperor goes up to the Holy Apostles on Easter Monday, the cortège, after bearing right at the Philadelphion, proceeds "by way of *ta Olybriou* and the Constantianae to St. Polyeuktos,"²⁸ where

²⁶ See *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* III, ed. E. Schwartz (Berlin, 1940), 69.

²⁷ *De cer.*, 50.

²⁸ *De cer.*, 75: διὰ τε τῶν Ὀλυβρίων καὶ τῶν Κωνσταντιανῶν μέχρι τοῦ ἁγίου Πολυεύκτου.

there is a halt for the emperor to light a new taper for the last leg of the journey. Unless this itinerary involved a detour from the Mese, which is unlikely, the description seems to indicate that between St. Euphemia and St. Polyuktos, the avenue traversed or, more probably, flanked a section of the Constantianae. Whether this refers specifically to the Baths of Constantius or, more generally, to the neighborhood, is not clear, but it is conceivable that the two churches, and therefore the residences which preceded them, were separated by a space large enough to accommodate a major structure, perhaps another aristocratic residence, such as the house of Arcadia in the tenth region.

This can only be conjecture, but the conjecture is not completely unfounded, because there is reason to believe that the religious and proprietary interests of Anicia Juliana in the region extended to the Constantianae. The indication comes from the confused tradition concerning the translation of the relics of St. Stephen and the foundation of his church in the Constantianae.²⁹ From the *Synaxarion* and *Typikon* of the Great Church it is evident that by the tenth century at the latest, the church at the Constantianae was the most important *martyreion* of the protomartyr in Constantinople, for this was where his two main feasts were celebrated: the anniversary of his martyrdom on 27 December, and the anniversary of the translation and deposition of his relics on 2 August.³⁰ The *Typikon* states that the procession on 27 December came from the Great Church via the Forum, while that of 2 August set off from the *martyreion* of St. Stephen at the Zeugma,³¹ a location beside the Golden Horn in the area of the modern Ünkapanı.³² The procession of 2 August thus

²⁹ The most useful discussion of the origin of the cult of St. Stephen in Constantinople is J. Wortley, "The Trier Ivory Reconsidered," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 21 (1980), 381–94, unfortunately overlooked in the interesting study by I. Kalavrezou, "Helping Hands for the Empire: Imperial Ceremonies and the Cult of Relics at the Byzantine Court," in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, ed. H. Maguire (Washington, D.C., 1997), 57–67. Wortley argues plausibly that Pulcheria did not bring the right hand of St. Stephen to Constantinople in 421 or found the palace chapel dedicated to him, but rather that the legend of the translation recorded by Theophanes (*sub anno* 5920: Theoph., 86–7) was invented to explain the transformation of a secular crowning place into a palace chapel.

³⁰ *Syn. CP*, cols. 349–50, 861–4.

³¹ J. Mateos, *Le typicon de la Grande Église*, I (Rome, 1962), 162, 358.

³² This seems clear from all the evidence assembled by G. Prinzing and P. Speck, "Fünf Lokalitäten in Konstantinopel," in *Studien zur Frühgeschichte Konstantinopels*, ed. H.-G. Beck, *Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia* 14 (Munich, 1973), 179–227, esp. 182ff., and reviewed by A. Berger, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos* (Bonn, 1988), 486–7, who rightly interprets the name in relation to the crossing of the Golden

retraced the route of the original translation ceremony, as described in the legend of the arrival of the relics from Jerusalem. A shortened version of this legend is given in the *Synaxarion*; two longer versions were published by Papadopoulos-Kerameus.³³ They all tell essentially the same story. After the body of St. Stephen had miraculously come to light and been magnificently rehoused in a church in Jerusalem, a rich senator called Alexander had arranged for himself to be buried beside the martyr. Some years after his death, his widow Juliana obtained permission from the emperor to remove her late husband's remains to Constantinople. By the time the coffin arrived at the Bosphoros after an eventful journey, it was obvious that Juliana had removed the wrong body and that St. Stephen had miraculously substituted himself for her husband. She explained everything to the emperor Constantine, who sent a Jew to verify the Hebrew inscription on the coffin. Fully satisfied, Constantine ordered the relics to be conveyed to the imperial palace. They were disembarked "in the Zeugma, at the Staurion"³⁴ and transferred to a carriage. When the carriage reached the Constantianae, the mules that were pulling it, restrained by a higher power, refused to go any further. In deference to the saint's wishes, a church was built on the spot to house his remains.

The introduction of Constantine, who reigned a century before the discovery of St. Stephen's relics in 415, lends the narrative a somewhat surreal quality, especially in the version which correctly dates the *inventio* to the consulships of Honorius and Theodosius II.³⁵ Unpicking the threads of fact from the tissue of fantasy is not easy. However, we can be reasonably sure that there is a strand of truth in the description of the *translatio* from the Zeugma to the Constantianae, and that the rest of the narrative is largely woven around this reality, in order to explain the annual procession and the existence of the two churches which marked the beginning and end of

Horn, as "Übersetzstelle". I am not aware of any text which supports the statement of Mango, *Développement*, 17, that "la crête de la vallée à l'emplacement de l'aqueduc, ainsi qu'une partie de la pente qui descend vers la Corne d'Or, étaient appelées Zeugma par les Byzantins." This identification seems to derive from the supposed proximity of the Zeugma to the Constantianae which, I argue below, is unfounded.

³³ A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυλογίας*, V (St. Petersburg, 1888; repr. Brussels, 1963), 28-73.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 45: ἐν τῷ Ζεύγματι, εἰς τὸ Σταυρίον.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 31.

the route. And, on the principle that it is easier to create a story out of pre-existing elements than *ex nihilo*, we may suggest that the name of the main agent in the *translatio* was not plucked out of thin air. At the beginning of this century, Pargoire identified the Juliana of the legend with Anicia Juliana.³⁶ He found confirmation, firstly in another tradition, recorded in the *Patria*, attributing the building of the church at Constantianae to the imperial couple Anastasius and Ariadne (491–515),³⁷ and secondly in the fact that Anicia Juliana's ancestor, the empress Eudocia, had built the *martyreion* of St. Stephen at Jerusalem. Pargoire confidently assumed that Juliana had inherited some right of patronage to this church which she used in order to transfer the saint's relics to Constantinople. But this is taking speculation too far; it is also to overlook the well-attested role of Eudocia herself in promoting the cult of St. Stephen at Constantinople. The chronicle of Marcellinus Comes records under the year 439 that "Eudocia, the wife of the emperor Theodosius, returned from Jerusalem to the imperial city, bringing with her the relics of the most blessed Stephen, the first martyr, which were placed in the basilica of St. Laurence where they are venerated."³⁸ There are problems with this information. Firstly, the church of St. Laurence at Pulcherianae was founded by Eudocia's chief rival in the imperial family, her sister-in-law Pulcheria. Secondly, the church was not completed, according to Marcellinus, until 453,³⁹ and the dedication to St. Laurence is unlikely to have occurred before the arrival of his relic from Rome, probably as a gift from Pope Leo I in connection with the negotiations leading to the Council of Chalcedon in 451.⁴⁰ Thirdly, it is hard to believe that Eudocia had not destined the relics of the protomartyr Stephen for a church of his own which she had built or intended

³⁶ Pargoire, "À propos de Boradion," 488–90.

³⁷ *Patria*, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, II, 236–7.

³⁸ Ed. Th. Mommsen, *Monumenta Germaniae historica. Auctorum antiquissimorum*, XI, 39–108: reproduced with English translation by B. Croke, *The Chronicle of Marcellinus* (Sydney, 1995), at p. 17.

³⁹ Croke, *Marcellinus*, 21.

⁴⁰ See K. Ciggaar, "Une description de Constantinople traduite par un pèlerin anglais," *REB* 34 (1976), 259, §45: "*sancti Laurentii . . . calvicium quod misit sanctus Papa Leo ad imperatores Marcianum et Pulcheriam.*" Although the source is late (11th c.), it is likely to be as reliable as the addition to Theodore Anagnostes (*PG* 86, col. 216) which states that St. Laurence's relic was deposited under Theodosius II. Even if the latter information is preferred, a date close to 450 is suggested by the fact that Sozomen does not mention St. Laurence in connection with Pulcheria's piety and patronage.

to build, and this is where the original dedication of the church of St. Polyeuktos comes into question. Without getting into further speculation, it seems fairly certain that the relics of St. Stephen were at the church of St. Laurence by the late fifth century, when Anicia Juliana had come of age and was in a position to think about completing the pious projects of her female imperial forebears. I suggest, therefore, that it was Anicia Juliana who had the relics relocated to a new, purpose-built church at the Constantianae during the reign of Anastasius and Ariadne. This suggestion not only reconciles the evidence of the *translatio*, the *Patria* and the chronicle of Marcellinus Comes; it also has the merit of explaining why the relics were conveyed via the Zeugma and not, as one might expect, along the Mese. The Zeugma made no sense as a disembarkation point for a procession to the imperial palace, and we can safely assume that this was never the intended place of deposition. But even for a deposition at the Constantianae, the Zeugma was not the most obvious choice of entry point for the *adventus* of an important relic coming from the east via (in one version) Chalcedon.⁴¹ The Chalcedonian landing stage, at the east end of the Golden Horn,⁴² or either of the harbors on the Marmara shore, or even one of the gates in the land walls would have been equally suitable, if not more so, since they would have involved a much more effective use of the city's ceremonial space. On the other hand, the Zeugma lay half-way along the direct route from the Pulcherianae to the Constantianae, at the point where the route turned inland; whether one came by boat and by road, or only by road, it was the ideal place to break the journey, and the obvious place to allow for the public veneration of relics being carried in procession.

Any attempt to explain the hagiographical legend of St. Stephen's *translatio* to Constantinople is bound to raise further questions. If the hagiographer had real information, where did he find it? Did he distort it knowingly or unknowingly, and if knowingly, was the distortion meant to serve a political or ideological agenda? It is not hard to think of answers to these questions, but however we answer them, we may tentatively include the church of St. Stephen at Constantianae among the many and splendid pious foundations of Anicia Juliana

⁴¹ Ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 44.

⁴² The *scala Chalcedonensis* (*Notitia CP*, 234; Berger, "Regionen und Straßen," 364) was used for the translation of relics to the Great Church in 407 and 415: *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf, 569, 572.

which had preceded the rebuilding of St. Polyeuktos; according to the fulsome insistence of the famous dedicatory epigram. "For where is it not possible to see that Juliana has raised up a fine temple to the saints? . . . Even you do not know how many houses dedicated to God your hand has made; for you alone, I think, have built innumerable temples throughout the world, always revering the servants of the heavenly God."⁴³ If we can accept this, we may not find it too difficult to accept the idea that Juliana, as the sole survivor of the Theodosian imperial line, inherited all the Theodosian properties in the tenth region of Constantinople; the house of her childless great-great-aunt Arcadia as well as the houses of her great-grandmothers Eudocia and Placidia. Since the churches of St. Euphemia and St. Polyeuktos stood on either side of the Constantianae, and the church of St. Stephen was in the Constantianae, we may further regard it as likely that the three properties formed a single bloc along the north-east side of the northern branch of the Mese.

While on the subject of the Constantianae, it may be useful to clear up a misconception which persists in the secondary literature and continues to generate topographical confusion. The misconception concerns the locations known as *to Staurion* and *ta Konsta* or *ta Konstantos*. The name Staurion was applied to two locations in Constantinople. One, recorded in the *Patria*, was a courtyard near the Artopoleia, just off the Mese to the west of the Forum of Constantine; the name was derived from a cross set on a column which A. Berger has not implausibly identified with the column of Phokas near the church of the Forty Martyrs.⁴⁴ The other Staurion was the place at the Zeugma where the relic of St. Stephen was disembarked according to the legend of his *translatio*, and where tradition placed the burial of the local martyr St. Akakios.⁴⁵ The spot was also marked, presumably, by a cross set on a column, in an open space near the waterfront and close to the church of St. Akakios at the Heptaskalon, one of the oldest in Constantinople; this Staurion cannot therefore have been far from the agora which Procopius mentions to the west of the church, and which Berger has plausibly identified with the market known as the Leomakellon.⁴⁶ The problem

⁴³ *Anth. Pal.* I 10, tr. Harrison, *Saragane*, I, 7.

⁴⁴ *Patria*, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, II, 185; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 316-7.

⁴⁵ *AASS*, May II, 762-6.

⁴⁶ *Proc.*, *De aed.*, I.4.26; A. Berger, "Zur Topographie der Ufergegend am Goldenen Horn in der byzantinischen Zeit," *IstMitt* 45 (1995), 153.

is to decide which of these two Stauria is the one referred to in the *Life of St. Stephen the Younger* as the place near which the parents of the saint lived in certain “goodly-sized dwellings” (εὐμεγέθεις οἰκίαι) known as *ta Konsta*.⁴⁷ G. Prinzing and P. Speck, in an old but still much cited study,⁴⁸ took the reference to be to the Staurion at the Zeugma, on the grounds that the entry on St. Stephen the Younger in the *Synaxarion* describes his parents as “having their residence in the locality of the Zeugma, not far from the church of the protomartyr and archdeacon Stephen.”⁴⁹ Prinzing and Speck accordingly equated *ta Konsta* with the Constantianae. However, quite apart from the objection that the Constantianae were not exactly at the Zeugma, but lay on the other side of the hill,⁵⁰ it is clear that the authors have confused two different Saints Stephen the Younger, who have separate notices in the *Synaxarion*. The more famous of the two, the martyr to the cause of icons put to death by Constantine V in 765, was commemorated on 28 November at the *martyreion* of St. Stephen at *ta Konsta*, exactly where his *vita* locates his parental home; the other Stephen, whose parents resided at the Zeugma, lived from 829 to 902 (or 839–912) and was commemorated on 9 December. Furthermore, from the description of the location of *ta Konsta* in the *Life* of the eighth-century saint, it is clear that this could not have been at the Zeugma: the complex lay on the downslope of the public avenue, downhill from the Staurion.⁵¹ As we have seen, the Staurion at the Zeugma was at sea level, right beside the Golden Horn, in a part of the city where there was no public avenue. *Ta Konsta* therefore has nothing to do with the Constantianae, and must be sought on the Mese between the Fora of Constantine and Theodosius. That it lay on the avenue is confirmed by the evidence for its later history. In the tenth century, part of it became the house of Gregoras Iberitzes;⁵² in 1081, when the Komnenoi entered Constantinople in their coup d’état against Nikephoros III Botaneiates, they

⁴⁷ Ed. and tr. M.-F. Auzépy, *La Vie d’Étienne le Jeune par Étienne le Diacre* (Aldershot, 1997), §3, pp. 91 (text), 182 (translation): πρὸς τὸ τῆς βασιλικῆς λεωφόρου πρηνὲς ἐν ᾧ ἀνίδρυται καὶ ἐπιλέγεται τὸ Σταυρίον, ἐξ οὗπερ πρὸς τὸ κάταντες μέρος εἰσὶν εὐμεγέθεις οἰκίαι προσαγορευόμεναι τὰ Κόνστα (my italics).

⁴⁸ Prinzing—Speck, “Fünf Lokalitäten,” 182 ff.

⁴⁹ *Syn. CP*, col. 291: τὰς οἰκήσεις ποιούμενοι ἐν τῇ τοποθεσίᾳ τοῦ Ζεύγματος, οὐ μακρὰν τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ θείου πρωτομάρτυρος καὶ ἀρχιδιακόνου Στεφάνου.

⁵⁰ See above, note 28.

⁵¹ See above, note 47.

⁵² *Patria*, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, II, 149–50.

proceeded from the Adrianople Gate to the Great Palace via the Deuteron and the "house of Iberitzes."⁵³ It is also clear from Anna Komnene's account of the episode that this building must have been to the west of the Forum of Constantine.⁵⁴

Returning now to the Theodosian residences, and moving on to the eleventh region, we have much less to go on in trying to locate the *domus* of Pulcheria and the *palatium Flaccillianum*. However, there are some possible clues. The column of Marcian, marking the site of the Forum that he laid out between the Holy Apostles and St. Polyeuktos, might indicate the proximity of the residence belonging to his virgin wife Pulcheria.⁵⁵ As for the palace of Flaccilla, it is surely significant that this remained, well into the sixth century, a functioning imperial palace, complete with a wardrobe of imperial insignia, which the Nika rioters of 532 used to proclaim Hypatius emperor. It was one of two palaces, and the only one within the Constantinian wall, which offered the insurgents a basis for opposing Justinian in the Great Palace.⁵⁶ This fact prompts us to ask whether the building might not feature, albeit anonymously, somewhere in the *De cerimoniis*. Here there is only one possible candidate: the palace attached to the church of the Holy Apostles, which the *Notitia* definitely situates in the eleventh region. When the emperor goes to the Holy Apostles on Easter Monday, he repairs at the end of the liturgy ἐν τῷ θεοφυλάκτῳ παλατίῳ, ἥγουν τῷ ὄντι ἐκεῖσε, where after a short rest in the bedchamber (κοιτῶνι) he joins the patriarch for lunch in the dining hall (ἐν τῷ τρικλίνῳ).⁵⁷ On the feasts of Constantine and Helen and All Saints, the services similarly terminate with a meal at the *palatia* next to the Holy Apostles.⁵⁸ The palace had its own courtyard.⁵⁹ The emperors changed their vestments both on arrival at the church,⁶⁰ and on departure from the palace,⁶¹ which suggests that

⁵³ Anna Komnene, *Alexiad*, II.12.1, ed. B. Leib, I (Paris, 1937), 98.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, II.12.4: while the Komnenoi, at the house of Iberitzes, were negotiating with an envoy of Nikephoros Botaneiates, who was at the Great Palace, Botaneiates' minister Boril deployed troops between the Milion and the Forum of Constantine.

⁵⁵ Mango, *Développement*, 46.

⁵⁶ *Proc.*, *BP*, I.24.30; *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf, 624. The other palace was that of the Helenianae.

⁵⁷ *De cer.*, 79.

⁵⁸ *De cer.*, 534–5, 538.

⁵⁹ *De cer.*, 533.32.

⁶⁰ *De cer.*, 532.21–533.1.

⁶¹ *De cer.*, 80.10–15. These appear to be different from the robes the emperor wears on leaving the Great Palace: cf. *ibid.*, 72.7–15.

the palace kept a change of ceremonial attire, along with a large dinner service, presumably of silver, for holding formal banquets.

All the locations suggested above are hypothetical, but in each case the hypothesis follows the lead of the only positive information supplied by the evidence. There are simply no alternatives to choose from. In two cases, the hypothesis involves a degree of imprecision; thus there is nothing to indicate whether the house of Arcadia might have been to the north or to the south of the aqueduct, or whether the house of Pulcheria might have been to the north or the south of the Forum of Marcian. But if all five houses had occupied the northern side of the Mese from the Holy Apostles to the Philadelphion, they would have shared two of the principal advantages which had surely determined Constantine's choice of the location for his mausoleum: easy access from the avenue, and proximity to the city's main supply of fresh water.

At the very least, I hope to have established that well known sources still have much to tell us about the evolution of Constantinople in the fifth century from a mosaic of *domus* to a mosaic of churches. The foregoing discussion should also have pointed to the need for more work on the role of imperial women in the configuration of the Theodosian city, and in the promotion of martyr cults, especially in the western urban area. Finally, it should have emerged that the pattern of aristocratic residence in this part of the Theodosian city may have something to tell us about the city of Constantine. The development of the area between the aqueduct and the northern branch of the Mese went back to Constantine and Constantius II, who clearly recognized the advantage of tapping into the water supply as soon as it entered the city. We should particularly note the role of Constantius II in adding to his father's investment: he not only added the church of the Holy Apostles to the complex surrounding his father's mausoleum, but also began the construction of a new public bath, the Constantianae, further down the hill. The Constantianae were the first big public bath complex to be built outside the area of ancient Byzantium. Where the emperors had led others followed, and the *Life of Olympias* shows that other members of the elite were moving into the area well before the end of the fourth century. As we have seen, Olympias' house near the Baths of Constantius was her preferred urban residence. Olympias was the granddaughter of Ablabius, the Praetorian Prefect of the East under Constantine and Constantius whose position was such that he entertained designs

on the throne.⁶² It is likely that she inherited the house from him. It is also far from unlikely that, since she died without issue, this house became imperial property and passed into the possession of a member of the Theodosian family—possibly Galla Placidia, who, we may note in passing, acquired the house of Ablabius near the Great Palace.

Did Constantius II himself have a residence at Constantianae? The author of the *Patria* clearly thought this was how the neighborhood had acquired its name, for in the legend of the city's foundation which had crystallized by the tenth century, we read that Constantine "built palaces in the names of his (three) sons, which are called Konstantianai and *ta Konstantos*."⁶³ While this explanation was no doubt the ignorant invention of a later age when the Baths of Constantius had ceased to function and all large ancient ruins tended to be described as *palatia*, it may contain a grain of intuitive truth. *Ta Konsta* or *ta Konstantos* must have taken its name from the house of an important person called Constans. This could have been the early fifth-century Flavius Constans, *magister militum per Thracias* in 412 and consul in 414,⁶⁴ but it could equally have been Constantine's son. If so, the topography of his house has interesting implications. We have established that *ta Konsta* lay on the Mese half-way between the Capitol and the Forum of Constantine, just as the Constantianae lay on the northern branch of the avenue, roughly equidistant from the Capitol and Constantine's mausoleum. Is it without significance that the point where the two stretches of avenue met and joined the third, south-western branch, was marked by a monument called the Philadelphion, a monument wishfully celebrating the brotherly love of Constantine's three sons?

⁶² *PLRE* I, 3–4 (Flavius Ablabius 4).

⁶³ *Patria*, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, II, 149–50.

⁶⁴ *PLRE* II, 311 (Constans 3).

III

The Maritime Neighborhoods of Constantinople: Commercial and Residential Functions, Sixth to Twelfth Centuries

Constantinople, like New York, is a city not only by the sea, but also, to a large extent, in the sea. The effect of the sea on the fabric of the city is strongly pervasive, and it makes sense to start from the sea when investigating urban neighborhoods. By far the best evidence for the texture of urban neighborhoods comes from twelfth-century documents concerning the real estate conceded to the Italian maritime republics of Venice, Pisa, and Genoa—real estate that lay close to the shores of the Golden Horn.

Since the sea is not far from any part of the city or its suburbs, and is indeed visible from almost anywhere within the Theodosian walls, it may well be asked what is meant by a maritime neighborhood. What distinguishes it from an inland neighborhood? Where does the one end and the other begin? Eleven of the twelve urban regions of the fifth-century *Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae* bordered on the sea, but only Regions I and IX had a long coastline.¹ Most of the other regions extended from a narrow stretch of coast to a narrow bloc of the city center. However, the regions were administrative rather than social or economic units. If we take into account the topography, the layout of public spaces, and the location of public monuments, we can draw a broad working distinction between those parts of the city that looked primarily toward the sea and those orientated toward the central avenue (Mese), the fora, and the great public buildings. Only in rare cases was a focal point such as the Strategion or the Leomakellon situated so close to the sea as to constitute a rival attraction.² In this paper, I shall be concerned with those neighborhoods whose proximity to the sea may be assumed to have been decisive, whether directly or indirectly, for the location of houses and businesses. The assumption is that a seaside location was desirable, first, for the loading, unloading, storage, and marketing of seaborne merchandise, and second, for the recreation afforded by a view of the sea. The commercial importance of proximity to the sea is self-evident, although, given the low status of commerce in Byzantine society and culture, it is almost never

¹In *Notitia dignitatum*, ed. O. Seeck (Berlin, 1876), 229–43. For German translation, commentary, map and earlier bibliography, see A. Berger, “Regionen und Straßen im frühen Konstantinopel,” *IslMitt* 47 (1997): 349–414.

²On these locations, see A. Berger, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos*, Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά 8 (Bonn, 1988), 406–11, 515–56, and below.

articulated by the sources and must be inferred from the geographical incidence of harbors and landing-stages. Byzantine sources are rather more eloquent on the recreational value of a sea view. Imperial legislation relating to Constantinople in the fifth and sixth centuries concurs with the treatise on urban planning emanating from sixth-century Palestine under the name of Julian of Ascalon in insisting that new buildings should not obstruct a neighbor's view of the sea.³ The legislation proved difficult to enforce, and the eleventh-century judge Eustathios Romaios ruled that it did not apply outside Constantinople. However, the grounds on which he justified his decision show that the sight of the sea had lost none of its appeal:

For where a man can go and walk on the shore, what need is there to urge a neighbor to keep the regulation distance? For here we are enclosed by the walls, and it is not possible for us to leave our homes and spend the night on the shore. But outside, people are not shut off from the sea by walls, and there is nothing to prevent them from spending as long as they like on the seashore.⁴

The site of Constantinople is bordered by three expanses of sea: the Sea of Marmara, the Bosphoros, and the Golden Horn. I shall have little to say about the area beside the Bosphoros, the area consisting of the eastern slope of the ridge that terminates in the acropolis of ancient Byzantium. This was certainly a residential area: there were private houses next to the Great Palace in the ninth century, and several individuals are recorded as living on the Acropolis.⁵ But there is no evidence for commercial premises along this stretch of coast, where the only proper harbor was that of the Great Palace,⁶ and the few landing-stages that are attested were used either for ferries across the Bosphoros⁷ or for servicing the great religious and imperial houses that took up most of the space between the Great Palace and the Acropolis point.⁸ Partly because of the proximity of the Great Palace and partly because this part of the city had developed out of the sacred and recreational area of ancient Byzantium, it tended to be dominated by a few large religious complexes—the orphanage, the Mangana, the Monastery of the Hodegoi, the churches of the Archangels and St. Menas—that did not really add up to an urban neighborhood. I shall therefore concentrate on the parts of the city beside the Golden Horn and the Sea of Marmara, and in particular on those coastal districts within the Constantinian wall that were important because they were close both to the commercial axis of the Mese and to the harbors that handled most of the city's maritime traffic during the height of its

³Laws of Zeno and Justinian: CIC, *CI* 8.10.12.2–4; CIC, *Nov* 63; Julian of Ascalon, 52.2, ed. and trans. C. Saliou, *Le traité d'urbanisme de Julien d'Ascalon, TM*, Monographies 8 (Paris, 1996), 72–73. Cf. in general S. N. Troianos and K. G. Pitsakis, *Φυσικό και δομημένο περιβάλλον στις βυζαντινές νομικές πηγές* (Athens, 1998).

⁴*Peira*, 18.5; ed. P. Zepos and I. Zepos, *Jus graecoromanum* (Athens, 1931; repr. Aalen, 1962), 4:68–69.

⁵*Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. I. Bekker, CSHB (Bonn, 1838), 328.14–15; *ibid.*, 382, 838 (Georgius Monachus Continuatus); John Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. I. Thurn, CFHB 5 (Berlin–New York, 1973), 500; *Life of St. Luke the Stylite*, ed. and trans. P. Vanderstuyf, “Vie de Saint Luc le Stylite (879–979),” *PO* 11 (1915), 246–47.

⁶See C. Mango, “The Palace of the Boukoleon,” *CahArch* 45 (1997): 47.

⁷Vanderstuyf, “Saint Luc”; *Notitia*, 5.15, ed. Seeck, p. 233.

⁸A landing-stage at the Mangana is mentioned by Michael Attaleiates, *Historia*, ed. I. Bekker, CSHB (Bonn, 1853), 73. The ship that brought Pope Martin I to Constantinople in 653 docked “near the Arkadianai” (PG 92:392), which must refer to the deep-water anchorage near the Baths of Arcadius: Procopius, *De aedificiis*, 1.11.2–4; R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine: Développement urbain et répertoire topographique*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1964), 311–12.

development in the fifth and sixth centuries. I shall not, however, be dealing primarily with this period but with its aftermath, with the question of how the port neighborhoods of Constantinople evolved between the reign of Justinian I and 1204. I shall be revisiting problems that Cyril Mango posed in the mid-1980s⁹ and solutions that I suggested in the mid-1990s.¹⁰ I take the opportunity to develop, refine, and modify my ideas, particularly in the light of recent work by Albrecht Berger.¹¹ In conclusion, I shall attempt to convey something of the texture of the urban fabric that is documented in the twelfth-century evidence for the Italian quarters beside the Golden Horn (see Fig. 1).

One of the great natural advantages of the site of Constantinople, as Byzantines from Procopius to Pachymeres were well aware, is the presence of a large sheltered anchorage in the shape of the Golden Horn.¹² The commercial port and the naval dockyard of ancient Byzantium, the Prosphorion and Neorion, were on the north coast of the city, and in Ottoman times all important shipping, apart from a small fleet of war galleys, used the Golden Horn. In Byzantine times, however, things were much less one-sided, at least until the shock of the Fourth Crusade, which prepared the way for the development of the Ottoman city. From the fifth to the thirteenth century, business was more evenly distributed between the north and south coasts of the city, and for a time, from ca. 550 to ca. 1050, the south coast was probably busier. This was entirely due to the construction, by the emperors Julian and Theodosius I, of two large artificial harbors that gave the Marmara coast a port capacity at least as great as that of the Golden Horn. It is evident that both harbors were constructed as part of the infrastructure supporting the rapid growth of population and built-up area in the century following the foundation of the city.¹³ The work coincided with the extension of the city's water supply and is explained, in part, by the need to cater for an increase in the food supply. The *Notitia* of Theodosius II lists two granaries, the *Horrea Alexandrina* and the *Horreum Theodosianum*, in the ninth region of the city, which stretched between the harbors of Julian and Theodosius.¹⁴ These harbors thus handled part of the grain shipments coming from Egypt. However, the storage facilities on this side of the city were not equal to those near the ports of the Golden Horn. In Region V, which contained the Strategion and the Prosphorion harbor, the *Notitia* lists three granaries in addition to an oil storage depot, the *Horrea Olearia*;¹⁵ one of the granaries, the *Horrea Valentiaca*, was evidently constructed by the emperor Valens (364–378), so after the Harbor of Julian (361–363). Such was the concentration of food supply infrastructure in this region that the *Notitia* describes it as containing the “essential buildings of the city” (*necessaria civitatis aedificia*)—something not said of Region IX. The greater importance, or at least the higher profile, of the northern complex is suggested by a fifth- or sixth-century text preserved in the

⁹C. Mango, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople (IV^e–VII^e siècles)*, *TM*, Monographies 2, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1990).

¹⁰P. Magdalino, *Constantinople médiévale: Études sur l'évolution des structures urbaines*, *TM*, Monographies 9 (Paris, 1996).

¹¹See below, p. 221.

¹²Procopius, *De aedificiis*, 1.5; Leo the Deacon, *Historia*, ed. C. B. Hase, CSHB (Bonn, 1828), 129; George Pachymeres, *Relations historiques*, ed. A. Failler (Paris, 1984), 2:469.

¹³Mango, *Développement urbain*, 37 ff.

¹⁴*Notitia*, 10.6, 9, ed. Seeck, p. 237; Berger, “Regionen,” 369.

¹⁵*Notitia*, 5.13, 15–17, ed. Seeck, pp. 233–34; Berger, “Regionen,” 364.

Book of Ceremonies that details the procedure to be followed when the emperor goes to inspect the granaries of the Strategion¹⁶—it makes no mention of those on the south coast. The conclusion would seem to be that the food storage facilities on this side were not commensurate with the capacity of the vast new artificial harbors and that these were not constructed solely in order to receive grain imports but to handle other traffic. The commodity that comes most readily to mind is building material—the timber, the bricks, and, above all, the Proconnesian marble needed for the great building programs of the late fourth and early fifth centuries.¹⁷ In the main, the most massive constructions of this period, the palaces and the public monuments of the Theodosian dynasty, were closer to the south than to the north coast.¹⁸

Given the continuing importance of the Golden Horn for the urban food supply during Constantinople's first two centuries, the subsequent decline of the port areas on the north coast is all the more striking. The most important single piece of evidence for this development is the statement of the *Parastaseis*, repeated by the *Patria*, that under Justinian the wholesale import market (αἱ ἀγοραὶ τῶν θαλασσίων ἐμπορευμάτων) was transferred from the Neorion to the Harbor of Julian.¹⁹ The historical information of these texts is suspect, but there is no need to doubt that it always reflects the material reality of the times when they were written. In other words, during the eighth and tenth centuries, the wholesale business of the port of Constantinople was concentrated beside the Harbor of Julian. There is, moreover, an accumulation of circumstantial evidence to prove not only that the port of Julian and the adjacent neighborhoods along the Marmara coast were flourishing at the expense of the old harbors and urban neighborhoods at the lower end of the Golden Horn, but also that the shift dated from the middle of the sixth century.

1. By the beginning of the ninth century, at the latest, the Harbor of Julian was alternatively known as the Harbor of Sophia.²⁰ This supports the information, contained in the *Patria* and certain chronicles, that the harbor was dredged by Justin II (565–574), embellished with statues, and renamed in honor of

¹⁶*De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae*, 2.51, ed. J. J. Reiske, CSHB (Bonn, 1829), 1:699–701; cf. M. McCormick, "Bateaux de vie, bateaux de mort: Maladie, commerce, transports annonnaires et le passage économique du Bas-Empire au Moyen Age," *Morfologie sociali e culturali in Europa fra tarda antichità e alto medioevo*, *Settimane*, 45 (1996): 37–40.

¹⁷See N. Asgari, "The Proconnesian Production of Architectural Elements in Late Antiquity, Based on Evidence from the Marble Quarries," in *Constantinople and Its Hinterland*, ed. C. Mango and G. Dagron (Aldershot, 1995), 263–88.

¹⁸This is obvious in the cases of the fora of Theodosius and Arcadius (see Mango, *Développement urbain* 43–45) and the *domus* of Pulcheria and Arcadia in the third and ninth regions (*Notitia*, 4.8, 10.7, ed. Seeck, pp. 232, 237; see below, p. 216). The *domus* of Placidia, Eudocia, and Arcadia in the tenth region (*Notitia*, 11.11–13, ed. Seeck, pp. 237–38) are probably to be sought in the area just to the north of the Capitol, where a number of Theodosian family mansions were situated: cf. Magdalino, *Constantinople médiévale*, 47 n. 170. I will deal further with the topography of these residences in a forthcoming study.

¹⁹*Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, ed. T. Preger, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1901–7; repr. 1989), 67, 188; *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century: The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*, ed. and trans. A. Cameron and J. Herrin (Leiden, 1984), 152–53, 267.

²⁰Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1883; repr. Hildesheim, 1980), 1:184.

his wife Sophia.²¹ Although the Neorion on the Golden Horn was dredged in 698, this was almost certainly to restore the harbor to use as a naval dockyard, and the dredging was, significantly, connected with an outbreak of the plague.²²

2. Justin II and Sophia are credited with three buildings in the neighborhood of the harbor: their own palace, which they inhabited before Justin became emperor,²³ and two churches, dedicated to the Archangel Michael and St. Thekla, which they built or restored.²⁴ Another important complex of buildings near the harbor, comprising a hospital and two adjacent churches, is attributed to one of their ministers, the *praīpositos* Narses.²⁵ It is to be noted that this foundation provided the southern port area with a symmetrical counterpart to the fifth-century hospital of Markianos and the church of St. Eirene at Perama on the north coast.²⁶ It is also to be noted that the northern port neighborhoods saw no comparable development in the late sixth century, the church of the Theotokos *ta Protasiou*, attributed by the *Patria* to Justin II, being the only construction datable to this period.²⁷
3. The churches and monasteries which the iconoclast emperor Constantine V (741–775) is said to have converted to secular use were all on the south coast, and most were in the vicinity of the Harbor of Julian.²⁸
4. By the tenth century, the only public granary still in use was the one known as the Lamia, in the vicinity of the port of Theodosius; this is probably to be identified with the Horrea Alexandrina or the Horreum Theodosianum of the fifth-century *Notitia*.²⁹
5. According to the tenth-century *Synaxarion* of Constantinople, the feast of St. Thekla was celebrated at her church “in the barley market” (ἐν τοῖς Κριθοπωλείοις).³⁰ If, as seems likely, this church was identical with the one restored by Justin I or Justin II, it may be deduced that the market for barley and other bulk foodstuffs was situated close to the Harbor of Julian. In this connection, it is worth noting that of the few urban fires that tenth-century

²¹ *Scriptores*, ed. Preger, 184, 229–31; George Kedrenos, *Historiarum compendium*, CSHB (Bonn, 1838), 1:685.

²² Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, 1:370; cf. Mango, *Développement urbain*, 56, and see below, pp. 218–19.

²³ Corippus, *In laudem Iustini Augusti minoris*, 1.97–114, ed. and trans. A. Cameron (London, 1976), 39, 89, 132–33; ed. and trans. S. Antès (Paris, 1981), 20–21; see below, p. 216.

²⁴ *Scriptores*, ed. Preger, 228–29; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 563–66, 578–80. Procopius, however (*De aedificiis*, 1.4.28), attributes St. Thekla to Justin I.

²⁵ *Scriptores*, ed. Preger, 248–49; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 591–96.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 447–49; for the hospitals, see T. S. Miller, *The Birth of the Hospital in the Byzantine Empire*, 2nd ed. (Baltimore, 1997), 91–92.

²⁷ *Scriptores*, ed. Preger, 220; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 403–4.

²⁸ Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, 1:439 (St. Euphemia), 443 (monasteries of Kallistratos, Dios, Maximinos); Nikephoros, *Antirrhētika*, 3, PG 100:493D (monasteries of Phloros and Kallistratos); *Scriptores*, ed. Preger, 148, 217, 240, 258 (churches of St. John the Baptist *ta Probou*, St. Euphemia, St. Julian the Myrelaion, St. Andrew at Boukinon, all near the Harbor of Julian).

²⁹ Mango, *Développement urbain*, 54–55.

³⁰ *Synaxarium CP*, col. 75.

chroniclers considered worth recording, two ravaged the quarter of *ta Aman-tiou*, near the Harbor of Julian.³¹ From later evidence, it is clear that neighborhoods where merchandise was stored were particularly at risk.³²

6. When sources of the seventh to tenth centuries mention a precise embarkation or disembarkation point for sea travelers, this is mostly the Harbor of Julian or Sophia, and never the Golden Horn. It was at the Harbor of Sophia that Heraclius landed in 610,³³ that Eustratios, abbot of the monastery of Agauros on Bithynian Olympus, disembarked in the mid-ninth century,³⁴ and that Leo of Synada set sail on his diplomatic mission to Rome in 996.³⁵
7. We know of several people who lived on the south coast of the city from the eighth to eleventh centuries. There was a cluster of aristocratic residences near the former Harbor of Theodosius.³⁶ A succession of illustrious persons lived at the Harbor of Sophia, possibly in the palace of Justin and Sophia,³⁷ and in the mid-eleventh century, an imperial secretary, Nicholas, had a “not very fine house” at Bykinon, between the harbor and the Hippodrome.³⁸ Most significantly, we hear of three tradesmen (ἐργαστηριακοί), one of them said to be very rich, who lived near the Harbor of Sophia.³⁹ The same period yields only one reference, of which I am aware, to a resident of the area near the old harbors on the Golden Horn. This was Antony, a *patrikios* under Michael III, who owned a fine house, complete with church and bathhouse, near the dockyard of the Neorion.⁴⁰

In every respect, the evidence for the development and prosperity of the south coast, particularly in and around the Harbor of Julian, is as striking as the almost complete lack of evidence for business and residential activity in the area beside the Golden Horn, which had been the main hub of the city's economy in the fourth to sixth centuries. The picture changes slightly if one takes into account the marketing of livestock, which, according to the *Book of the Prefect*, was divided between the Strategion and the Forum Tauri. This distribution may be much older than is generally supposed, because it corresponds to the location of the main meat markets, the *macella*, listed by the *Notitia* of

³¹*Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. Bekker, 354, 462.

³²See the poem of Constantine Stilbes on the fire of 1197, ed. J. Diethart, “Der Rhetor und Didaskalos Konstantinos Stilbes” (doctoral diss., University of Vienna, 1971), lines 165–73; George Pachymeres, *De Andronico Paleologo*, ed. I. Bekker, CSHB (Bonn, 1835), 2:227, 582 (see also the fuller text of this second passage published by A. Failler in *REB* 36 [1978]: 157–58).

³³Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, 1:299.

³⁴Ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας (St. Petersburg, 1897), 4:391.

³⁵*The Correspondence of Leo Metropolitan of Synada and Syncellus*, ed. and trans. M. P. Vinson, CFHB 23 (Washington, D.C., 1985), 14–15.

³⁶*Life of St. Basil the Younger*, ed. A. N. Veselovsky, in *Sbornik otdela russkogoazyka i slovestnosti imperatorskoj akademii nauk* 26 (1889): 6, supplement, 57, 72; Mango, *Développement urbain*, 59.

³⁷See below, pp. 216–17.

³⁸Michael Psellos, *Orationes forenses et acta*, ed. G. Dennis (Leipzig-Stuttgart, 1994), 172.

³⁹*Life of St. Basil the Younger*, ed. Veselovsky, 51, 54; Pseudo-Symeon, in *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. Bekker, 674.

⁴⁰*Synaxarium CP*, col. 935.

Theodosius II: two in Region V and two in Region VIII.⁴¹ But here again, the trend seems to have been toward a greater concentration in the south; horses were sold in the Amastrion, and if we can believe the *Patria*, Constantine V moved the cattle market to the Forum of Theodosius (Tauri) from the area of the Prosporion harbor.⁴²

What brought about this apparent gravitational shift in the city's maritime economy? By docking on the Marmara coast, ships avoided the strong currents and headwinds of the Bosphoros; yet these hazards were known long before the foundation of Constantinople. The silting up of the old harbors on the north coast was certainly a problem; it may have encouraged business to move not only to the south coast but also, as we shall see, further up the Golden Horn, where ships could moor closer to the sea walls.⁴³ But as we shall also see, silting did not prevent the eventual re-use of the old harbor area, and it affected the Marmara coast just as badly: the Harbor of Julian had to be dredged two centuries after its construction, and the Harbor of Theodosius was allowed to silt up almost completely.⁴⁴ The question is, why of all the four artificial harbors that had served Constantinople in the fifth century was the Harbor of Julian kept open? The shrinking of the urban population is surely part of the answer, as Cyril Mango has suggested.⁴⁵ Another part lies, no doubt, in the changing nature of supply. The cessation of grain shipments from Egypt in the seventh century meant, presumably, that basic commodities were imported, to a greater extent, over smaller distances in lighter loads and smaller craft that did not draw much water and did not need elaborate docking facilities. The trend toward smaller ships may have begun under Justinian with the construction of a large granary at Tenedos, where the large grain transports from Alexandria could leave their cargoes to be carried on by local vessels.⁴⁶ Certainly, the picture we get from Attaleiates in the eleventh century is one of boats unloading at jetties all along the coast rather than in specially localized harbors.⁴⁷ However, none of this properly explains why the depopulated Constantinople of the early Middle Ages gravitated toward the south coast instead of concentrating around the original commercial center beside the Golden Horn, where the "necessary buildings" of the city had always been situated.

The explanation may have more to do with the residential than with the commercial attractions of the south-facing Marmara coast—this was the place to be in during the harsh winter.⁴⁸ The Harbor of Julian was also conveniently close to the Great Palace. The coastal district to the west of the harbor was known by 425 as Kainopolis, or New City, and this has led Cyril Mango to identify it with the large built-up area that Zosimus says

⁴¹*Notitia*, 6.27, 9.17, ed. Seeck, pp. 234, 236; *Leonis Sapientis Liber Praefecti*, 5.1, 5, and 16.2, ed. and trans. J. Koder, *Das Eparchenbuch Leons des Weisen*, CFHB 33 (Vienna, 1991), 122–25.

⁴²*Ibid.*, 21.3, 8, pp. 136–39; *Scriptores*, ed. Preger, 263–64; cf. Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 425.

⁴³Magdalino, *Constantinople médiévale*, 89; see below, pp. 221–23.

⁴⁴See A. Berger, "Der Langa Bostani in Istanbul," *IstMitt* 43 (1993): 467–77.

⁴⁵Mango, *Développement urbain*, 53 ff.

⁴⁶Procopius, *De aedificiis*, 5.1.7–16; note that Procopius refers to the harbors of Constantinople in the plural (ἐς τοὺς Βυζαντίου λιμένας). On the capacity of the grain fleet, cf. McCormick, "Bateaux de vie," 103–7.

⁴⁷Attaleiates, *Historia*, ed. Bekker, 277–78; cf. P. Magdalino, "The Grain Supply of Constantinople, Ninth–Twelfth Centuries," in Mango and Dagron, *Constantinople and Its Hinterland* (as above, note 17), 41–43.

⁴⁸E.g., the winters of 716–717 and 762–763: Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, 1:396–97, 434–35.

was reclaimed from the sea.⁴⁹ The identification finds some support in the *Patria*, which records a tradition that a harbor on this stretch of coast, the Harbor of Eleutherios, was filled in with construction debris from the Forum of Theodosius.⁵⁰ What is interesting here is the evident demand, in the first phase of the city's expansion, for building land along the south coast in preference to other parts of the city, where land did not have to be reclaimed from the sea.

The desirability of residing on the south coast is demonstrated by the presence here of large aristocratic residences that seem to have had almost no equivalent on the Golden Horn, at least within the Constantinian wall. The earliest mentions of these are found in the *Notitia* of Theodosius II, which records a palace in Region III belonging to the Augusta Pulcheria, then the most powerful person in Constantinople, and one belonging to the Nobilissima Arcadia in Region IX; both women were important enough to have second homes elsewhere in the city.⁵¹ We do not know what happened to these palaces after the fifth century, but to judge from what we know of other Theodosian buildings in Constantinople, they must have been magnificent and solid constructions of a kind that would have been easier to re-use than demolish.⁵² Is it coincidence, then, that we find later references to large and important princely residences in similar if not identical locations? At the end of the eighth century, the favorite residence of the empress Eirene, her palace at *ta Eleutheriou*, was in the vicinity of the palace of the Nobilissima Arcadia.⁵³ The palace of Justin II and Sophia overlooked the Harbor of Julian/Sophia on one side and the open sea on the other;⁵⁴ it is therefore likely to have stood on the east side of the harbor, somewhere between the Hippodrome and the sea. This is exactly the part of Region III where we should look for the palace of Pulcheria.⁵⁵ Three centuries later, the "enormous house" Nikephoros Phokas the Elder received from Basil I and passed on to his son Bardas stood "near the church of St. Thekla," according to one version of the Logothete Chronicle; according to Leo the Deacon, it was "on the descent of the street

⁴⁹*Notitia*, 10.5, ed. Seeck, p. 237; Zosimus, *Historia nova*, ed. F. Paschoud (Paris, 1971), 1.108, 2.35; Mango, *Développement urbain*, 17–18, 45.

⁵⁰*Scriptores*, ed. Preger, 184–85.

⁵¹*Notitia*, 4.8, 10.7, ed. Seeck, pp. 232, 237, and see 11.12, 12.9 for the *domus* of Arcadia and Pulcheria in Regions X and XI, respectively. Region III included the Hippodrome and the whole area to the south of the Mese between the Hippodrome and the Forum of Constantine. This has led Berger, "Regionen," 361, to suggest that the *domus Pulcheriae* of the *Notitia* was originally the palace of Antiochus, the remains of which have been excavated on the north-west side of the Hippodrome. The suggestion is plausible in that the building existed, and had become imperial property, by the time the *Notitia* was composed. Against it, however, is the fact that the house of Antiochus was subsequently known by the name of its original owner. It is also to be noted that the *domus* of other Theodosian princesses (Placidia, Marina, Arcadia) in the southern part of the city were evidently close to the sea. On Pulcheria, see K. Holum, *Theodosian Empresses* (Berkeley–Los Angeles, 1982).

⁵²The main evidence comes from the excavations of the palace complexes to the west of the Hippodrome: R. Naumann and H. Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche am Hippodrom zu Istanbul*, *IstForsch* 25 (Berlin, 1966); J. Bardill, "The Palace of Lausus and Nearby Monuments in Constantinople: A Topographical Study," *AJA* 101 (1997): 67–95. Cf. also C. L. Striker, *The Myrelaion (Bodrum Camii) in Istanbul* (Princeton, 1981); C. Mango, "The Palace of Marina, the Poet Palladas and the Bath of Leo VI," in Εὐφρόσυνον. Ἀφιέρωμα στὸν Μανὸλη Χατζηδόκη, ed. E. Kypraiou, 2 vols. (Athens, 1991), 1:321–30; Magdalino, *Constantinople médiévale*, 42–43.

⁵³Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 588–89.

⁵⁴See the translation of the relevant passage of Corippus, below, p. 217.

⁵⁵See above, note 52.

leading down to the sea where the Harbor of Sophia opens out.”⁵⁶ These two pieces of information combined again point to a location on the east side of the harbor.⁵⁷ In the twelfth century, the brother of one of the Komnenian emperors lived in a grand house whose location is described by Choniates in terms very similar to those used by Leo the Deacon.⁵⁸ It is tempting, and I think not unreasonable, to see all these references as pertaining to a single house occupied, over the centuries, by close relatives or favored associates of the emperor.

What does seem certain is that the re-investment in the Harbor of Julian and its neighborhood made by Justin II and the *praipositos* Narses was not unconnected with a preference for this location, which Justin II clearly shared with eminent people before and after him. The charms of the spot are evoked by Corippus in his poem in praise of Justin:

One side looks out over the wide sea, the other backwards over the harbour—the harbour formed by the embrace of the arms of the two banks, with walls on top; they make it defy the swift winds, and render the open sea quiet inside the anchorage. They break the waves of the sea with their marble barrier and keep away the waters as they flow back with their narrow neck. The royal pair loved this place; from it they used to watch the waves in the strait and the curving ships carrying all the trade of two worlds.⁵⁹

The description is too precise to be merely an ekphrastic topos, and it is reminiscent of what Julian of Ascalon has to say about the importance of a sea view: “If a man can see a harbor or the shore, or even just look at ships at anchor in the case of a town or village which does not have a proper harbor, his view of them should in no way be impaired or removed, for they are a source of recreation to those who behold them.”⁶⁰

But it was one thing to invest in renewing the Harbor of Julian and another thing to do so at the expense of the existing economic hub of the city by the Golden Horn. If there was a major relocation in the mid-sixth century, what caused it? I think we have to focus attention on the greatest catastrophe to hit the Mediterranean world at this time, the bubonic plague. There is still no systematic study of the sixth-century plague in all its aspects, and its significance has been debated.⁶¹ It has been cogently argued, by Jean Durliat and Mark Whittow, that the long-term demographic and economic effects of the plague were negligible compared with the wars and the territorial losses of the seventh century.⁶² The evidence for building programs and problems of overcrowding in late sixth-century Constantinople tends to support this view.⁶³ However, plague mortality in the short term was undoubtedly devastating and shocking. The horrific eyewitness ac-

⁵⁶H. Grégoire, “La carrière du premier Nicéphore Phocas,” in Προσφορά εις Στίλωνα Κυριακίδην (Thessalonike, 1953), 2:250; Leo the Deacon, ed. Hase, 83–84.

⁵⁷This is where Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 566, places the church of St. Thekla.

⁵⁸*Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. J. L. van Dieten, CFHB (Berlin–New York, 1975), 1:445; cf. Magdalino, *Constantinople médiévale*, 47, 91.

⁵⁹Corippus, *In laudem Iustini*, trans. Cameron, 89.

⁶⁰Saliou, *Traité*, 72–73.

⁶¹For a recent discussion, with some new insights, see McCormick, “Bateaux de vic,” 48 n. 20, 52–65.

⁶²J. Durliat, “La peste du VI^e siècle: pour un nouvel examen des sources byzantines,” in *Hommes et richesses dans l’Empire byzantin* (Paris, 1989), 1:107–19; M. Whittow, *The Making of Orthodox Byzantium, 600–1025* (London, 1996), 66–68.

⁶³Magdalino, *Constantinople médiévale*, 58–59.

counts by Procopius and John of Ephesus of the initial outbreak in 542 are not to be dismissed.⁶⁴ Later outbreaks were less severe, but they ensured constant concern about the likelihood, and measures for the prevention, of future recurrences. The official and the popular explanation was that the plague was a scourge sent by God, and this undoubtedly quickened the pace of investment in pious and charitable foundations that is so marked during the age of Justinian and his successors. At the same time, the rational and natural explanations offered by ancient medical theory were not entirely discredited, especially as it became evident that the plague struck the righteous and the unrighteous with equal ferocity. Not only did the medical profession adhere to the wisdom of Hippocrates and Galen, which held that the body was predisposed to plague infection by bad air,⁶⁵ but the seventh-century theologian known for convenience as Anastasius of Sinai decided that the credibility of Divine Providence was better preserved by attributing the plague to natural causes. Witness one of his *erotapokriseis*:

Q. Whence do plagues arise, and why do they not occur in certain desert lands of the nations, but mostly in densely inhabited, crowded and filthy cities?

A. Fatal diseases often arise from corrupt air, and dust, and the stench of dead bodies, summer rains, and exhalations of land and sea.⁶⁶

It seems to me that considerations of this kind were bound, eventually, to affect residential patterns in plague-stricken cities. In the case of Constantinople, it may also be relevant that stagnant waters and those polluted by the effluent from large settlements were believed to be sources of noxious exhalations.⁶⁷ It is clear from the *Notitia* of Theodosius II that in pre-plague Constantinople, the highest concentration of ordinary housing, and therefore the greatest source of human waste, lay in the area beside the Golden Horn, to the west of the Neorion.⁶⁸ The Golden Horn is not flushed out by currents or waves. And, as we have seen, the dredging of the Neorion in 698 was associated with a bad outbreak of plague; the wording of Theophanes, our source, leaves no doubt that the association was perceived to be causal as well as temporal.⁶⁹ John of Ephesus says that in the plague of 542 many bodies were dumped in the sea; any dumped in the Golden Horn would not have been washed away. Both Procopius and John of Ephesus tell us that when the authorities got around to disposing of bodies in a more organized way, the

⁶⁴Procopius, *De bello Persico*, 2.22–23; John of Ephesus, in Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre, *Chronicle, Known Also as the Chronicle of Zuqnin: Part III*, trans. W. Witakowski, Translated Texts for Historians 22 (Liverpool, 1996), 74–98.

⁶⁵See, e.g., Aetius of Amida (early 6th century), *Libri medicinales*, 5.95, ed. A. Olivieri, *Corpus medicorum graecorum* 8.2 (Berlin, 1950), 80–82; Stephen the Philosopher (6th–7th century), *A Commentary on the Prognosticon of Hippocrates*, 1.17, ed. and trans. J. M. Duffy, *Corpus medicorum graecorum* 11.1, 2 (Berlin, 1983), 56, 62.

⁶⁶PG 28:661; see also PG 89:744–45, 748, 765–68. On the author, see J. F. Haldon, “The Works of Anastasius of Sinai: A Key Source for the History of Seventh-Century East Mediterranean Society and Belief,” in *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East*, vol. 1, *Problems in the Literary Source Material* (Princeton, 1992), 107–47.

⁶⁷See, e.g., Galen, *De sanitate tuenda*, 1.11, 15 ff, ed. H. Koch et al., *Corpus medicorum graecorum* 5.4, 2 (Leipzig-Berlin, 1923), 27: healthy air is ὁ μητ' ἐκ λιμνῶν ἢ ἐλῶν ἀναθυμιάσεως ἐπιθολοῦμενος . . . οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὄσπερ ἐκ πύδου ὄχετοῦ τῶν καθαιρόντων ἢ μεγάλην τιὰ πόλιν ἢ πολυάνθρωπον στρατόπεδον ἐπιθολοῦται, μοχθηρὸς ἰκανῶς ἔστι.

⁶⁸*Notitia*, 7.13, 8.19, ed. Seeck, 234–35, 238; Berger, “Regionen,” 382–83.

⁶⁹Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, 1:370 (trans. Mango and Scott, 517); cf. McCormick, “Bateaux de vie,” 64.

disposal took place at Sykai, the suburb north of the inlet. According to Procopius, bodies were piled inside the towers of the fortification; according to John of Ephesus, vast pits were dug to receive the corpses oozing pus and putrefaction. Either way, rot would have been rapid in the summer heat and the stench carried by the prevailing north wind to the south shore of the Golden Horn overpowering. Altogether, there is reason to suppose that the plague was a strong incentive to move business and residence to the Marmara coast. In this connection, it is worth noting that the worst outbreaks of plague recorded in the sources, the first in 542 and the last in 747, occurred under the same emperors, Justinian I and Constantine V, who are said by the *Patria* to have transferred commercial facilities away from the Golden Horn.⁷⁰

Whatever it was that caused the shift to the Marmara coast, when and why did the Golden Horn re-emerge as the city's main commercial artery? It is clear that a decisive moment was the establishment of the Italian trading quarters in an area corresponding roughly to what had been the commercial harbor in late antiquity.⁷¹ We know about these trading quarters partly from Greek and Latin narrative histories but most importantly from documentation in the archives of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa concerning the real estate grants the city communes received from a succession of Byzantine emperors.⁷² The pattern of grants was set by Alexios I Komnenos in 1084 when he granted Venice a wharf, a church, a mall (*embolos*), and houses close to Perama, the embarkation point for the ferry to the northern suburb of Pera. Pisa and, much later, Genoa followed with similar acquisitions further to the east, near the ancient ports of Neorion and Prosporon. In the course of the twelfth century, each city requested and received additional grants of property, extending their original enclaves both inland and along the shore—though not, it must be emphasised, so far that their properties adjoined. A document of 1192 also reveals the existence of an Amalfitan presence closely associated with that of Pisa: a wharf that became included within the Pisan section of the waterfront and a quarter inland from the Pisan enclave.⁷³ The events of 1204 and 1261 led to further changes beyond the scope of this paper.

There can be no doubt that the establishment of the Italians increased the commercial importance of the Golden Horn. But would the Italians have asked for concessions in this area if it had not been fairly important already to their business interests? The

⁷⁰See above, pp. 212, 215; for the plague of 747, see Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, 1:422–43 (trans. Mango and Scott, 586–87), and Nikephoros, Patriarch of Constantinople, *Short History*, ed. and trans. C. Mango, CFHB 13 (Washington, D.C., 1990), 138–41.

⁷¹For what follows, see Magdalino, *Constantinople médiévale*, 78–90, and the important study of A. Berger, "Zur Topographie der Ufergegend am Goldenen Horn in der byzantinischen Zeit," *IstMitt* 45 (1995): 149–65, which appeared after my book had gone to press.

⁷²Venice: *Urkunden zur älteren Handels und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, ed. T. L. F. Tafel and G. M. Thomas, vol. 1 (Vienna, 1856); new edition of the early charters by M. Pozza and G. Ravagnani, *I trattati con Bisanzio, 992–1198* (Venice, 1993); a private document of 1184 of topographical interest is published by S. Borsari, *Venezia e Bisanzio nel XII secolo: I rapporti economici* (Venice, 1998), 154–56. Pisa: *Documenti sulle relazioni delle città toscane coll'oriente cristiano e coi Turchi fino all'anno MDXXXI*, ed. G. Müller (Florence, 1879; repr. Rome, 1966), 46–49; the Greek version also in MM 3:16–23. Genoa: A. Sanguineti and G. Bertolotto, "Nuova serie di documenti sulle relazioni di Genova coll'Impero bizantino," *Atti della Società ligure di storia patria* 28 (1896–98): 337–573.

⁷³Müller, *Documenti*, 47–49, 56–57; Magdalino, *Constantinople médiévale*, 86; the same conclusion was reached independently by Berger, "Ufergegend," 161.

Venetians and Amalfitans had been active in the empire's trade since the tenth century, and possibly earlier, so it is likely that the neighborhoods where their quarters were located in the twelfth century were those that they had always frequented. There are two indirect indications that the area's recovery was well under way by the time Alexios I formalized the grant of the Venetian quarter in 1084. One is the information that in 1056 the emperor Michael VI proposed to renovate the Strategion, perhaps indicating that this square was now more than the pig- and sheep-market that figures in the *Book of the Prefect*.⁷⁴ The other, more useful, indication lies in the twelfth-century documents concerning the Italian quarters. These documents give details of property ownership in the area at the time when the Italians were granted their premises. As I have attempted to show elsewhere, the pre-existing proprietors—that is, those whose premises either adjoined or were acquired by the Italians—consisted overwhelmingly of religious institutions founded or refounded in the tenth and early eleventh centuries.⁷⁵ The almost complete absence of earlier foundations is striking. Assuming that the endowments were made at the time of the foundations, it is reasonable to suppose that they reflect the profitability and availability of commercial and residential real estate in lower Golden Horn neighborhoods in the period 900–1050. In other words, this was an area where rent-producing property was still available for endowment purposes in the tenth and eleventh centuries, because prior to then it had not been sufficiently valuable. If this reading of the evidence is correct, it means that the beginnings of the revival of the lower Golden Horn area coincided generally with the arrival of the Venetians and Amalfitans on the trading market of Constantinople.

Yet, as we have seen, in the tenth century the market was still oriented primarily toward the Harbor of Julian and the Sea of Marmara. So why did the Italians apparently not operate in this area? What were the incentives, or the constraints, that made them base their operations on the north coast? The answer is to be sought, I believe, in a consideration of the independent evidence for several foci of commercial and maritime activity beside the Golden Horn. The settlement at Pera (the ancient Sykai, to the north of the inlet) created, at the very least, a demand for ferry services to and from Perama; from the mid-eleventh century, if not earlier, the Jewish quarter, with its tanneries, was situated at Pera.⁷⁶ East of Perama, on the south coast, was the Neorion, the naval dockyard, which generated business building, servicing, and supplying the imperial fleet; in this context, we should note that Venetians and Amalfitans were, according to Liudprand of Cremona, engaged in the empire's armed forces in the 960s.⁷⁷ At Perama itself, an important focus was the *mitaton* of the Saracens at Perama, near the ancient church of St. Eirene and the hospital of Markianos. This *mitaton* is first attested in 1203 as the site of a mosque.⁷⁸ Although this mosque may well have been the one inaugurated—or

⁷⁴ Skylitzes, ed. Thurn, 482; *Liber praefecti*, ed. Koder, 122–25; Magdalino, *Constantinople médiévale*, 51–52.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 83.

⁷⁶ D. Jacoby, “Les quartiers juifs de Constantinople à l'époque byzantine,” *Byzantion* 37 (1967): 168–73; repr. in idem, *Société et démographie à Byzance et en Romanie latine* (London, 1975); see also idem, “The Jews of Constantinople and Their Demographic Hinterland,” in Mango and Dagron, *Constantinople and Its Hinterland* (as above, note 17), 224–25. Jacoby does not, in my opinion, offer convincing proof that the Jews had not been confined to Pera prior to 1044.

⁷⁷ Liudprand of Cremona, *Relatio de legatione Constantinopolitana*, 45, ed. and trans. B. Scott (Bristol, 1993), 17, 46; Magdalino, *Constantinople médiévale*, 83.

⁷⁸ Choniates, ed. van Dieten, 1:553–54; Magdalino, *Constantinople médiévale*, 88.

renewed?—in 1188–89 at the insistence of Saladin, there is no reason to assume that the hostel and entrepot for visiting Arab traders with which it was associated, as the name *mitaton* clearly indicates, were of such recent creation.⁷⁹ In other words, the *mitaton* of the Saracens at Perama can plausibly be identified as one of the *mitata* used by the Syrian merchants mentioned in the *Book of the Prefect*,⁸⁰ and is likely to have dated from the very beginnings of Muslim trade with Constantinople. The Venetians and Amalfitans first developed their international trade by exporting slaves to Muslim North Africa. By the time they became active in Constantinople, they had a history of trading with the Arab world that would have linked their business interests with those of visiting Arab traders. The proximity of the Saracen *mitaton* to the Venetian quarter cannot be coincidental.

A final key point on the Golden Horn was the Leomakellon, whose location and significance have recently been highlighted by Albrecht Berger.⁸¹ Whether or not the Leomakellon had anything to do with the emperor Leo I, whose name became attached to it in urban folklore, the second part of the word indicates the existence of a *macellum*—a market for meat and possibly other products—at a coastal site in the area of modern Unkapanı.⁸² This market can plausibly be identified with an agora mentioned by Procopius near the church of St. Akakios,⁸³ and, perhaps, with the market called Basilike mentioned by a Russian traveler in 1390.⁸⁴ Whether or not this second identification is correct, there are other indications to confirm that an important retail market was located beside the Golden Horn throughout the Middle Ages, well to the west of the area where the economic hub of early Constantinople had been and where the Italians were based. First, the main food markets of the city in Palaiologan times were located along the Golden Horn between Blachernai and Perama.⁸⁵ Second, John Tzetzes alludes to a perfumer/druggist workshop at the Leomakellon market.⁸⁶ Third, the stretch of coast near St. Akakios was known, from at least the tenth century, as the Heptaskalon, meaning “seven *skalai*,” which suggests that this was a particularly active port area.⁸⁷ Finally, and perhaps most important, it can be inferred from the Genoese documentation that the most sought-after stretch of waterfront was to the west of the Venetian concession. When the Genoese were negotiating the terms of their treaty with Manuel I, their ambassador was instructed as follows:

You will ask for and strive by all means to obtain an *embolos* and *skalai* in Constantinople between the *embolos* of the Venetians and the palace of the Despot Angelos. And if you don't manage this, then in “Perforo” [Prosporion]. And if not there, then in some other

⁷⁹The assumption is made by S. V. Reinert, “The Muslim Presence in Constantinople, 9th–15th Centuries: Some Preliminary Observations,” in *Studies on the Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire*, ed. H. Ahrweiler and A. Laiou (Washington, D.C., 1998), 140–43.

⁸⁰*Liber praefecti*, 5, ed. Koder, 94–97; Reinert, “Muslim Presence,” 131 ff.

⁸¹Berger, “Ufergegend,” 152–55.

⁸²It was thus situated at the center of the most densely populated area of the 5th-century city: see above, note 68.

⁸³Procopius, *De aedificiis*, 1.4, 26.

⁸⁴G. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, DOS 19 (Washington, D.C., 1984), 150.

⁸⁵N. Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires grecs et latins à Constantinople, XIIIe–XVe siècles* (Montreal, 1979), 97–100, 106.

⁸⁶*Ioannis Tzetzae epistulae*, ed. P. A. M. Leone (Leipzig, 1972), 85–86.

⁸⁷Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 464–68.

convenient place within the city of Constantinople. If indeed you are in no way able to obtain an *embolos* and *skalai* within the city you should strive to obtain them in Pera.⁸⁸

This passage offers a unique insight into the commercial preferences of the Italian merchants. As we might expect, they wanted to be in the city rather than the suburbs. Less expected is the revelation that the location where the Genoese eventually received their trading quarter, the old harbor area of Prosphorion,⁸⁹ was not their first but their second choice. Their first choice was for a location between the Venetian quarter and the palace of Constantine Angelos.⁹⁰ This building is not otherwise known, but it is clear from the context that it must have been a prominent landmark near the sea walls. If it had been east of the Venetians, it would have been between them and the Pisans; the distance was not great, and neither Venetian nor Pisan documents refer to such a palace. It is therefore likely to have been west of the Venetian quarter. This likelihood is strengthened by the consideration that there is no evidence for large aristocratic palaces on the coast in the lower Golden Horn area: the other palaces mentioned in the Italian documents, the palace of a *sebastokrator* and that of Botaneiates, both lay inland, on the hills to the south of the original Venetian and Genoese quarters, respectively. On the other hand, we do know of one aristocratic *oikos* in the neighborhood of the Leomakellon—the one occupied in 1056 by the *proedros* Theodosios, cousin of the late Constantine IX Monomachos.⁹¹ Theodosios's senior title, and the fact that he considered himself to have a right to the throne, suggest that his house was a fairly grand affair—grand enough, perhaps, to have been a fitting residence, a century later, for the son-in-law of Alexios I.

It is now clear that the decline of the Golden Horn area in the early Middle Ages was by no means absolute, and that the picture presented earlier of a concentration of maritime traffic and wholesale business at the Harbor of Julian must be qualified by the evidence for continuing foci of commercial activity on the north coast of the city. The Italians sought concessions in this area because it was good for business, and they were already doing business there well before the late eleventh century. As their presence increased, it undoubtedly made the Golden Horn busier than the Harbor of Julian. I think it is revealing that in Ptochoprodromos's satire on the *hegoumenoi*, the poor novice who is sent to go shopping for the senior monks goes to the forum, to the Milion, to the Venetians, and to *ta Eugeniou*, a location on the lower Golden Horn.⁹² This does not mean, however, that the Harbor of Julian was deprived of business overnight, and we should not forget that when the Venetians and Amalfitans started trading at Constantinople in the tenth century, it remained, so far as we can tell, the most important port area. If I am right in thinking that the Italians developed their business interests at Constantinople through association with the Arabs and their *mitaton* at Perama, they gravitated to the Golden Horn because this was the place for foreigners to trade. Furthermore, the Genoese ambassador's instructions show that there was a ranking of commercial locations

⁸⁸Ed. Sanguineti and Bertolotto, "Documenti," 346.

⁸⁹This location is confirmed by the 1170 description of the quarter as being "in positionem locorum Onorii," a toponym clearly deriving from the Thermae Honorianae of the 5th century: *Notitia*, 6.7, ed. Seeck, p. 233.

⁹⁰See Magdalino, *Constantinople médiévale*, 80–83.

⁹¹Skylitzes, ed. Thurn, 481.

⁹²*Ptochoprodromos*, ed. and trans. H. Eideneier, *Neograeca Medii Aevi* 5 (Cologne, 1991), no. IV, lines 120–21, 450, 456, 571.

along the lower Golden Horn, rising in value from east to west. It is no surprise that of the three major Italian trading communes in the twelfth century, it was Venice, the longest established and most privileged, that enjoyed the best position. But this does not mean that the Venetians were the most highly favored of all the rentiers along the coast. We should remember that the Italians obtained their concessions at the expense of former property-holders, who were dispossessed in their favor. Thus, what they received depended not only on what they wanted but also on what vested interests would be affected by satisfying them. This may be why we encounter no major eleventh- or twelfth-century foundations, and no members of the imperial family, among the owners whose properties were granted to the Italians—we tend to see proprietors whom the emperor could afford to offend. Sometimes the properties in question needed major investment, like the burnt-out houses granted to the Pisans and Genoese in 1192.⁹³ The one occasion on which the Italians received a politically sensitive grant of highly lucrative real estate was in 1189, when Isaac II, under pressure from his Venetian patriarch Dositheos, and desperate to secure Venice's support against any threat from the Third Crusade, granted Venice's request to be given the *emboloi* and *skalai* in the possession of the French and Germans.⁹⁴ We do not know where these properties were situated, but it was probably to the west of the existing Venetian quarter. Nor do we know when and why the French and Germans acquired these lucrative concessions, but we can guess that it had something to do with the importance of France and Germany in the Crusades and in the international diplomacy of the Komnenian emperors.⁹⁵ Indeed, when we consider the care that John II and Manuel I had put into trying to form marriage alliances with the French and German royal dynasties, we may suppose that the properties in question were at least as valuable as those originally granted to Venice.

What we can conclude with confidence, I think, is that the twelfth-century documents concerning the Italian concessions on the Golden Horn present a picture of urban neighborhoods that had revived after a long period of depression but that, although prosperous, were not yet the most prosperous parts of the city. With this in mind, let us now consider the texture of these neighborhoods. The first point to note is that the holdings of all three Italian cities lay on either side of the sea wall. From 1148, the intra- and extramural sections of the Venetian quarter seem to have been treated as a continuum, but the Pisan and Genoese documents maintain a clear distinction between properties pertaining to the *embolos* inside the wall and the *skalai*, or landing-stages, outside the wall. By 1192 the Pisans acquired properties up to the wall on either side, but in 1201 the Genoese were still seeking to join up their separate blocs, and although they received further concessions from Alexios III in 1202,⁹⁶ he evidently declined their ambassador's request for the monastery between their *embolos* and their *skalai* or the church that separated their *embolos* on the southern side from the aristocratic palace granted to them in 1192.⁹⁷ In general, it seems that trading quarters were not granted *en bloc* but as compos-

⁹³Ed. Müller, *Documenti*, 47 (Greek text), 56 (Latin text); Sanguineti and Bertolotto, "Documenti," 443.

⁹⁴*I trattati*, ed. Pozza and Ravegnani, 105–10; for Dositheos, see Choniates, ed. van Dieten, 1:404–5. Cf. D. M. Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice* (Cambridge, 1988), 115–16.

⁹⁵See P. Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180* (Cambridge, 1993), chap. 1.

⁹⁶Sanguineti and Bertolotto, "Documenti," 475–76 (Greek text), 483–84 (Latin text).

⁹⁷*Ibid.*, 470.

ite packages of individually negotiated units. Of these units, the most complex were the *skalai*. A *skala* comprised not only a quayside, formed of an earth embankment fronted by a wall of wooden piles, but also a fenced rectangular terrain built over with houses, workshops, and the booths of money-changers. Otherwise, the standard unit of transfer was the single house (οἰκημα, rendered in Latin as *habitaculum*) or cluster of houses. Thus, when the documents refer to a commune's requesting or possessing an *embolos*, this is shorthand for acquiring a section of frontage on a street that itself belonged to the state or, in the case of a small unroofed passage in the Genoese quarter, to a neighboring monastery.⁹⁸

Apart from the city wall, the main lines of division within the neighborhoods were the water courses and drainage channels coming down to the sea, and the streets. Between the walls and the shore in the Pisan and Genoese quarters, and, no doubt, in the Venetian area as well, ran a public road (δημοσία ὁδός) that bisected the strips of land belonging to the *skalai*. Inside the wall, the main spatial feature of each quarter was the *embolos*, also on an east-west axis. This was evidently a covered portico: the earliest description of the Genoese quarter specifies that another *embolos*, belonging to a local monastery, was "unroofed."⁹⁹ The description of the Venetian quarter in 1148 also mentions a transverse *embolos*, and the Pisan and Genoese documents mention alleys (ῥυμίδες) running in both directions.

The existence of east-west *emboloi* in each of the three Italian quarters raises the question whether these were not, in fact, sections of a single covered portico running parallel to the coast. The question is well founded, in view of the following passage in the account in the *Patria* of Constantine's foundation of the city:

Also, he built four *emboloi* with masonry vaults from the palace as far as the land walls. One went by the Tzykanisterion and the Magnaura and the Acropolis and *ta Eugeniou* and extended as far as St. Antony's; the other went by way of the Daphne and the Sophiae as far as Rabdos; the other two *emboloi* went by way of the Chalke and the Milion and the Forum to the Tauros, the Ox, and the Exakionion.¹⁰⁰

Again, this seems to be a case of the *Patria* making fanciful sense of a visible reality; here, a series of *emboloi* aligned with the sea walls on both coasts and looking as if they were meant to form a continuum. We find a trace of the southern line of *emboloi* in the *Book of Ceremonies*, in the mention of an *embolos* in front of the church of St. Panteleimon beside the Harbor of Julian.¹⁰¹ This may well have been the curved portico, built by Julian, that gave access to the harbor.¹⁰²

Although the Pisan and Genoese quarters must have been close to the Strategion, this square is not mentioned in any of the documents. Indeed, apart from the city wall, they mention only one local landmark known from other sources, the hospital of St. Markianos. All the well-known churches and monasteries that owned property in these neighborhoods were themselves located in other parts of the city. Churches and monasteries actually located in these neighborhoods are not otherwise known, confirming the

⁹⁸Ibid., 364–65: *prescriptus absque tecto parvulus embolus pertinet et idem monasterio tu Apologothetu.*

⁹⁹Ibid.

¹⁰⁰*Scriptores*, ed. Preger, 148.

¹⁰¹*De cerim.* 2.13, ed. Reiske, 1:561.

¹⁰²Zosimus, *Historia nova*, 3.11.3, ed. F. Paschoud, vol. 2.1 (Paris, 1979), 25; cf. Berger, "Regionen," 361.

suspicion that the majority of modest religious foundations in Constantinople have gone unrecorded.¹⁰³

A few open spaces are recorded in the Pisan quarter, but on the whole the neighborhoods the Italians moved into were dense concentrations of *oikemata/habitacula*. These varied considerably in use and in architectural form. Some were purely residential, while others were partly or wholly occupied by workshops. Many houses had specific luxury features familiar from descriptions of imperial or aristocratic residences: a reception/dining hall (τρικλινάριον), a solarium (ἡλιακὸν), a chamber (κούβουκλον). It is notable, however, that no building was more than two storeys high, in a city where a house of three or more storeys was a recognized mark of social distinction. It is also notable that interior courtyards are rarely mentioned, in interesting contrast to the evidence for Thessalonike, where the urban properties described in the documents of Athonite monasteries were generally grouped around courtyards.¹⁰⁴ Where supporting columns are mentioned, these were invariably wooden. In general, the impression is of fairly modest buildings of recent construction.

Considering that these were trading quarters, the number and variety of businesses mentioned is surprisingly low. Most numerous were the booths of money changers (*numularii/καταλλάκται*): eight in the intramural part of the Venetian quarter in 1148, four on the Pisan *skalai* in 1192, and one on the Genoese part of the waterfront in the same year. There were bakers in all three quarters, a butcher and a tavern in the Genoese section, and three candlemakers among the Venetians—but these were providers of basic everyday necessities, and their equivalents were no doubt found in every urban neighborhood. The only businesses that dealt in a specialized product were the workshops of the oarmakers, which gave the area colonized by the Genoese its name, Koparia. It is not clear whether these workshops supplied commercial shipping or, as I rather suspect, the galleys of the imperial fleet. What is clear, however, is that the Italian *emboloi* were not important markets or manufacturing areas. Things may have been different on the landing-stages, where several *ergasteria* are listed, but unfortunately the documents do not say what they produced.

As for the residential functions of the neighborhoods, we can only assume as a probability that the *oikemata* of the Italian quarters were actually occupied by Italians. There was a Latin baker named Walter in the Pisan quarter, but all the lay tenants and the lay neighbors of the properties acquired by Genoa were Greeks: Kaparina, the widow of the exarch Alexios, John Pastos, Leo Strobiliates, John Rapsommates, Makrogenes, the Opsikianos brothers, the widow Eudokia, the head of the (palace?) goldsmiths (ἄρχων τῶν χρυσοκόων) Kyriakos, Eudokios.¹⁰⁵

The documents present a picture of Byzantine urban neighborhoods into which Italian traders were moving or had moved recently. The properties they describe in detail are those that the Italians had just acquired. The documents do not, therefore, illustrate the extent to which the neighborhoods were being transformed by the Italian presence,

¹⁰³ Cf. Magdalino, *Constantinople médiévale*, 63.

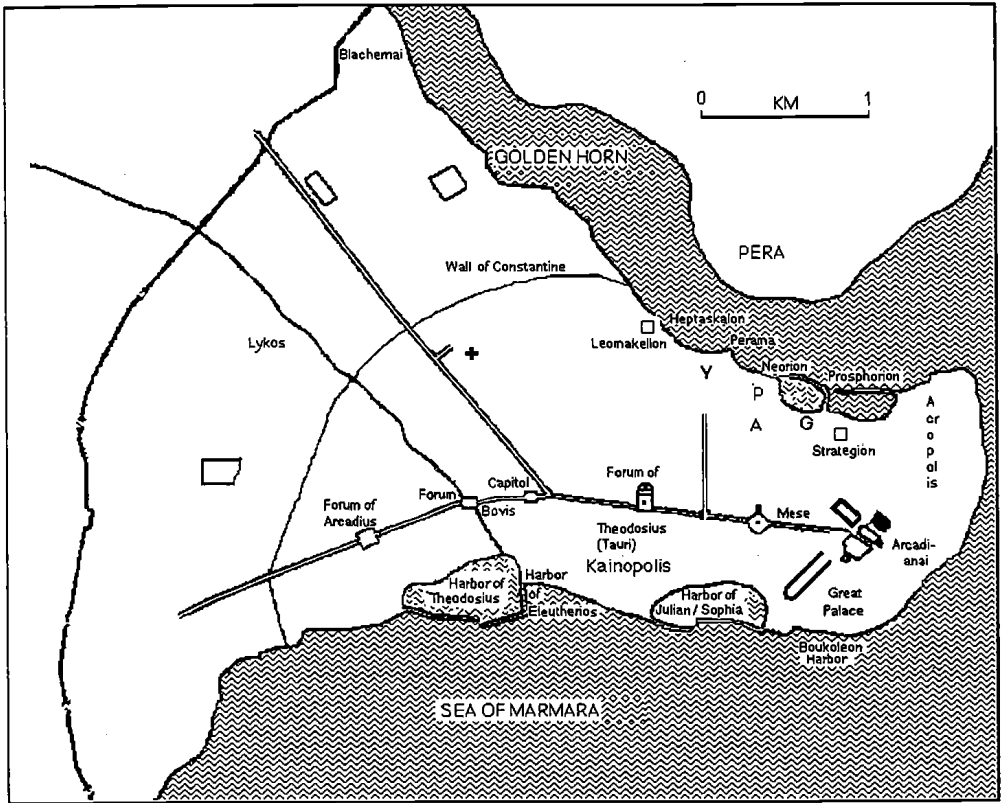
¹⁰⁴ E.g., *Actes de Docheiariou*, ed. N. Oikonomides, Archives de l'Athos 13 (Paris, 1984), no. 4. See in general E. S. Papagianni, *Μορφές οικόδομῶν κατὰ τὴν ὕστερη Βυζαντινὴ περίοδο: πληροφορίες ἀπὸ νομικὰ ἔγγραφα* (Athens, 1995), 40 ff.

¹⁰⁵ Sanguineti and Bertolotto, "Documenti," 475 ff.

and we should certainly resist the temptation to visualize them in terms of the more plentiful evidence for the Venetian and Genoese colonies of later centuries. The description of the Pisan quarter in 1192 provides, however, one revealing detail: it mentions two big churches, one of St. Peter and one of St. Nicholas, that the Pisans had built since becoming established in 1112.¹⁰⁶ These churches, which had not existed before, may well have been built in Tuscan Romanesque style. That the Byzantine imperial chancery described them as large suggests that they loomed over the neighborhood in a way that the average middle Byzantine church would not have done. They were, therefore, highly visible symbols of the wealth and power of the Latin West that was imposing itself on the other cultures of the Mediterranean world. The sight of them might have done much to inflame the mob that massacred the Latins of Constantinople in 1182, “that race of Latins who, in accordance with ancient custom, were set apart on the shore of the Horn of Byzantion, in the area of Phosphorion.”¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶Müller, *Documenti*, 47–48. Both churches had existed—though not necessarily in the same form—since 1162, and that of St. Nicholas is mentioned in 1141: *ibid.*, 10.4.

¹⁰⁷Eustathios of Thessalonike, *La espugnazione di Tessalonica*, ed. S. Kyriakides, trans. S. Rotolo (Palermo, 1961), text repr. with same pagination and English trans. by J. R. Melville-Jones (Canberra, 1988), 34–37. “Phosphorion is evidently a variant of Bosporion,” a name sometimes applied to the Proosphorion harbor: Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 424.



- 1 Medieval Constantinople. The approximate locations of Italian trading quarters are indicated by V (Venetians), A (Amalfitans), P (Pisans), and G (Genoese).

IV

Constantine V and the Middle Age of Constantinople

For more than a generation now, Byzantinists have finally accepted that Byzantium too had its own version of the Middle Ages, that the Empire which survived until 1453 was not a seamless continuation of the world of Late Antiquity. The tenth-century empire of Constantine Porphyrogenetos was very different from the sixth-century empire of Justinian, not to mention the undivided, undiminished Roman Empire of Constantine the Great. Even Byzantines could recognise this, and they had a good idea when the change had occurred. The great break with their Christian, Roman past had come with the great wars and invasions of the sixth and seventh centuries: the Lombard invasion of Italy, the Avar invasion of the Balkans and the concurrent Slav colonisation of the peninsula, the Persian and Arab conquests of the eastern provinces and North Africa. Historians today might argue about the extent to which the transformation was externally induced, but there is general agreement that the invasions concluded a massive decline in the quality of urban life in what remained of the eastern empire. The empire not only lost major cities to the conquerors, including the urban giants of Antioch and Alexandria, but those towns that remained in imperial control were widely sacked, depopulated, and cut off from their hinterlands. Where they survived, this was largely as *kastra*, fortified hill-top sites that were little more than villages with some added religious, administrative, commercial and military functions. The former urban elites moved away or sank into rural poverty and isolation, and with them collapsed the upkeep of the civic environment and the literary education that were the twin pillars of ancient civilization.

Yet if the end of antiquity was marked by the disappearance of the ancient *polis*, the Byzantine Middle Ages were not characterised by a complete urban vacuum. Medieval Byzantium had a broad rural base, but it also had a clear and constant urban focus in the form of Constantinople, which had survived the invasions without violent disruption. The survival of Constantinople as an imperial capital led the way for a revival of urban life throughout the territories under its control, both in ancient centres like Ephesus, Nicaea, Thessalonica, Athens and Thebes, and ultimately in new or formerly insignificant places like Arta, Ioannina and Mistra. By the sheer fact of surviving in its ancient role as a capital city, Constantinople also represented a remarkable continuity of urban

existence from the Late Antique world. This continuity meant a lot to medieval Byzantines, because it was fundamental to the political identity of their state as the Empire of New Rome. It also had much to do with the modern hesitation to differentiate between the ancient and medieval phases of Byzantine history. Of course, Constantinople was not untouched by the general crisis, and recent study of the city's development has drawn attention to evidence for a decline in population and culture and the abandonment of public buildings and facilities¹. Even so, it is much more difficult to periodise Byzantine history with reference to Constantinople than with reference to provincial towns. When did the Middle Ages begin in the unbroken sequence of imperial successions, in the uninterrupted annual cycles of liturgies celebrated in Hagia Sophia and games performed in the Hippodrome? Should the transition be defined in terms of the crises that shocked the system of the ancient city – plague, food-shortage, enemy attack, civil war – or of the regeneration that shaped the medieval organism? Depending on the criteria one adopts, various dates can be proposed, from the sixth century to the ninth. In what follows, I would like to suggest that a decisive moment in the long process of transition, which satisfies a number of criteria, was the reign of Constantine V (741–775).

On the one hand, this was a time of severe crisis. Constantine's father, Leo III, came to power, and Constantine himself was born, during the Arab siege of Constantinople in 717–718:² the last, and arguably the most serious, of the three great enemy attacks which threatened the existence of the imperial capital in the seventh and eighth centuries, and which thus, by their failure, confirmed the city in its role as the God-guarded fortress of Christendom.³ In 740, the year before Constantine succeeded his father, Constantinople was rocked by a powerful earthquake, which severely damaged, among other buildings, the land walls, necessitating some of the most extensive repairs that they had undergone since their construction in the fifth century⁴. Shortly after his accession, Constantine lost control of the capital to a usurper, his brother-in-law Artabasdos, and only succeeded in regaining it after a long blockade.⁵

¹ Mango, *Développement*,

² Theophanes, 395–400; Nikephoros, *Short History*, 120–7.

³ The other attacks were the Avar siege of 626 and the Arab blockade of 674–8. For the former, see Nikephoros, *Short History*, 58–61; *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf, I, 716–26; J. Howard-Johnston, 'The siege of Constantinople in 626', in Mango and Dagron (eds), *Constantinople and its Hinterland*, 131–42.

⁴ Walls: Theophanes, 412; van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, 98ff; C. Foss and D. Winfield, *Byzantine Fortifications* (Pretoria 1986), 53–4; *Parastasis*, §3, ed. and tr. Cameron-Herrin, 58–9. For the destruction and reconstruction of other buildings, see below pp. 7–23.

⁵ Theophanes, 414–18, 419–21; Nikephoros, *Short History*, 132–9.

Hard on the heels of earthquake and civil war came bubonic plague in 746–7, in the penultimate outbreak of the pestilence which had been endemic to the Mediterranean world for the past two hundred years.⁶ The chronicle accounts of the mortality it caused are reminiscent of Procopius' famous description of the initial epidemic which had nearly carried off the emperor Justinian, along with two-thirds of the urban population, in 542.⁷ The reduced and embattled empire of the eighth century was even less well equipped to cope with the crisis. The dead were hurriedly buried in mass graves within the Constantinian walls. Such pollution of urban space would have been unthinkable in the sixth century, and reflected a major shift in attitudes towards the urban environment.⁸ The name of Constantine V is also linked with another insalubrious development, namely the transformation of monumental squares into markets for livestock:⁹ he is said to have transferred the cattle market from outside the city wall near the Golden Horn to the Forum of Theodosius, close to the city's commercial centre.¹⁰ All in all, the impression is that in Constantine's reign the population and the built environment of Constantinople reached an all-time low.

On the other hand, Constantine's reign marks the beginning of a recovery which continues without interruption until 1204. Constantine repopulated Constantinople after the plague,¹¹ and in 766–7, following a severe drought, he repaired the aqueduct which had not functioned since the Avars had demolished vital sections of it in 626.¹² He recruited military companies which he stationed in the city, providing generously for their support,¹³ and he introduced fiscal measures which ensured an abundance of cheap food on the urban market.¹⁴

Both the crisis and the revival are striking, and together they suggest that the reign of Constantine V was a turning point in the history of Constantinople. Yet

⁶ Stathakopoulos, *Famine and Pestilence*, *passim* and pp.384–5.

⁷ Theophanes, 422–4; Nikephoros, *Short History*, 138–41; cf. Procopius, *Wars*, II. 22–3; Stathakopoulos, *Famine and pestilence*, 286–8.

⁸ Mango, *Développement*, 57–8; Dagrón, 'Le christianisme dans la ville byzantine', 11–19; *idem*, 'À propos des inhumations'.

⁹ Mango, *Développement*, 57.

¹⁰ *Patria*, III 149, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, 263–4.

¹¹ Theophanes, 429; Nikephoros, *Short History*, 140–41.

¹² Theophanes, 440; Nikephoros, *Short History*, 160–61.

¹³ Theophanes, 437; Nikephoros, *Antirrhetikoi*, III 64, PG 100, col. 493; *idem*, *Apologeticus*, PG 100, col. 556; *idem*, *Refutatio et eversio*, ed. Featherstone, §23. 1ff; cf. J.F. Haldon, *Byzantine Praetorians: An administrative, Institutional and Social Survey of the Opsikion and Tagmata*, c. 850–900 (Bonn 1984), 228–35.

¹⁴ Theophanes, 443; Nikephoros, *Short History*, 160–61.

although Constantine's religious and military policies have been well studied,¹⁵ his impact on the development of the imperial capital, and of the role of the capital within the empire, receives little attention in modern discussions of his reign,¹⁶ whose coverage is limited to reproducing the information in the sources. The written sources are, of course, notoriously inadequate.¹⁷ It is a measure of their inadequacy that the bulk of our information comes from a few pages of the chroniclers Theophanes Confessor and Nikephoros, whose accounts largely duplicate each other, and that our next best sources are the hagiography, written in 809, of a saint, Stephen the Younger, whom Constantine put to death,¹⁸ and the refutations of Constantine's theology written by Nikephoros after 815.¹⁹ Not only are the sources few, brief and posthumous, in most cases by a generation or more, but all, virtually without exception, are violently hostile to Constantine on account of his iconoclasm, which makes him the most reviled emperor in Byzantine literature. Only the Acts of the Second Council of Nicaea (787) are relatively restrained, because Constantine was the grandfather of the reigning emperor, Constantine VI.²⁰ For other iconophiles, Constantine was Mammon, Kopronymos (shit-named) and Kaballinos (horse-shit); a cruel, persecuting, impious, depraved and dissolute tyrant; a second Julian, a New Valens, a New Midas, the forerunner of Antichrist. The triumphant Orthodox who rewrote history to vindicate their cause did their best to misrepresent and under-represent his achievements in their own writings; they also ensured that no literature survives from his reign, apart from the theological writings they quoted for purposes of refutation. These are sufficient to discredit the iconophile picture of iconoclasts in general, and Constantine in particular, as boorish enemies of culture,²¹ but they leave largely unanswered the question as to what other official literature, if any, was written at the time. The result is that

¹⁵ See in general Haldon, *Byzantine Praetorians*; S. Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm during the Reign of Constantine V with particular attention to the oriental sources* (Louvain 1977); I. Rochow, *Kaiser Konstantin V. (741–775), Materialien zu seinem Leben und Nachleben* (Frankfurt am Main 1994); Herrin, *Women in Purple*, 38–71.

¹⁶ A notable exception is Herrin, *Women in Purple*, esp. 47ff.

¹⁷ See the comprehensive survey by J. Haldon in Haldon and Brubaker, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era, 165–307*, and the recent short overview by M.-F. Auzépy, 'Les enjeux de l'iconoclasme', in *Cristianità d'occidente e cristianità d'oriente (secoli VI–XI)* [= *Settimane di Studio della Fondazione centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo*, 51] (Spoleto 2004), 127ff.

¹⁸ *Life of St Stephen the Younger*, ed. and tr. Auzépy; cf. Haldon and Brubaker, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era*, 226–7.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 256–7.

²⁰ Mansi, XII, 951–1154; XIII, 1–485; cf. Haldon and Brubaker, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era*, 236–8.

²¹ Nikephoros, *Antirrhethikoi*, I. 18, PG 100, col. 229.

we have no direct evidence for Constantine's own idea of what he was doing. Does the sources' emphasis on religious and military affairs fully represent his priorities? What was the ideological framework in which he formulated and presented his policies? How sophisticated was this presentation? Ironically, the sources' indignation at his concern to promote imperial at the expense of religious imagery means that we know a little about his visual propaganda. Yet we can only get at his verbal propaganda by the risky expedient of attempting to invert iconophile invective.

Inadequate though they are, however, the sources for Constantinople under Constantine V when put together yield more than the meagre sum of their parts, as I hope will emerge from what follows. I shall first discuss the evidence for Constantine's impact on the built environment of Constantinople, and then look at his social and economic policy for the city, before attempting to make sense of both in terms of the ideological rationale that informed his rulership.

Built environment

Constantine's main recorded building project was the reconstruction of the aqueduct in 766. The fullest account is in Theophanes:

There was a drought such that not even the dew fell from heaven, and the water supply of the city failed completely. The cisterns and the baths ran dry, as indeed did the spring waters which had previously flowed continuously. On seeing this, the emperor began to renew the aqueduct of Valentinian which had functioned until Heraclius and had been destroyed by the Avars. Choosing workmen from different places, he brought 1000 masons and 200 plasterers from Asia Minor and the Pontus, 500 brickmakers from Hellas and the islands, and from Thrace itself 5000 workers in addition to 200 tilers. In charge of the work he put official overseers, including one of the *patrikioi*. And thus, when the work was finished, water came into the city.²²

This was undoubtedly a major contribution to the infrastructure of the city. Without it, the future demographic recovery, evidenced by the building programmes of later emperors, would hardly have been possible. It would clearly not have happened without the emperor's intervention, especially since the labour force was not close at hand, but had to be brought in from more than one province. Public fountains may have started to flow again. Otherwise, it is unlikely that the rebuilding work made an immediate difference to the look

²² Theophanes, 440.

of the city, since it must have affected those sections of the aqueduct which lay outside the walls, and probably at some distance.

Apart from this one project, the main sources speak not of construction, but of destruction, desecration and desolation. The Acts of the Second Council of Nicaea (787), refer to the ‘secularisation of holy churches and the conversions of sacred monasteries into worldly abodes’.²³ According to Theophanes, Constantine had the relics of St Euphemia thrown into the sea, and her church turned into ‘an armoury and a dung heap’.²⁴ Theophanes also says that Constantine gave the monastery of Dalmatos to soldiers, and levelled to the ground (ἐκ βάρθρων κατέλυσεν) the monasteries of Kallistratos, Dios and Maximinos, among others²⁵. Nikephoros, in his third *Antirrhetikos* records that when Constantine recruited regiments of loyal soldiers to be stationed in Constantinople,

he turned monasteries into dwellings for them; he turned the churches of God into stables and lavatories – their refuse has endured until our day. He even handed over holy places for money, as the monasteries of Phloros and Kallistratos loudly proclaim.²⁶

More information in the same vein comes from the *Patria*, the tenth-century collection of legends and notices on the history and topography of the city. Apart from repeating the information about the church of St Euphemia,²⁷ the *Patria* holds Constantine responsible for the conversion or destruction of five other churches, all of them fairly obscure. He converted two churches, St John Baptist *ta Probou* and St Andrew at Boukinon, into a workshop and a barn respectively.²⁸ He incinerated the church of St Julian together with its community of monks; the molten lead from the roof flowed down to the harbour of Julian.²⁹ He frightened away the monks of the Myrelaion by saying that from now on the place was to be called Psarelaion, or ‘fish-oil’.³⁰ To complete the dossier of Constantine’s crimes of desecration, we may mention the accusations in the *Life of St Stephen the Younger* that he destroyed sacred images

²³ Mansi, XIII, 329.

²⁴ Theophanes, 439–40.

²⁵ Theophanes, 443.

²⁶ Nikephoros, *Antirrhetikoi*, III 64, PG 100, col. 493; similar information in Nikephoros, *Refutatio et eversio*, ed. Featherstone, §22. 54–64.

²⁷ *Patria*, III 9, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, 217.

²⁸ *Patria*, II 67, III 135, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, 148, 258.

²⁹ *Patria*, III 69, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, 240–41.

³⁰ *Patria*, III 134, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, 258.

and replaced them with 'pictures of trees or birds or senseless beasts and, in particular, satanic horse races, hunts, theatrical and hippodrome scenes'.³¹

Nikephoros even blames the destructive effects of the earthquake of 740 on Constantine, who with his father Leo III had provoked God's wrath by their iconoclasm. In his third *Antirrhetikos*, written after 814, Nikephoros writes that the evidence was still to be seen in the ruins of fine buildings in the elevated parts of the city.³²

It is not hard to see the other side of this gloomy picture. The existing fabric of the church of Hagia Eirene shows that Constantine reconstructed at least one building destroyed in the earthquake of 740, and this should make us wary of Nikephoros, who records the destruction but not the rebuilding.³³ In fact, Nikephoros and other iconophile sources unintentionally reveal that building and decorating went on during Constantine's reign.³⁴ If nothing else, the references to his replacement of iconic with aniconic decoration indicate that artists were active, and this is confirmed by the mosaics surviving in Hagia Eirene and the small *sekretion* of Hagia Sophia.³⁵ Nikephoros states that Constantine had his colour portrait represented in various places.³⁶ The Acts of the Second Council of Nicaea allude to what must have been wall paintings or mosaics depicting the accomplishments of Leo III and Constantine V, 'their acts of bravery, their victories over their enemies, barbarian casualties, all of which many have portrayed in panel paintings and in murals'.³⁷ Whoever commissioned the murals must at least have maintained and refurbished, if he did not actually erect, the building they decorated. Another passage in the same text says that the authorities under Constantine V not only turned a blind eye to those bishops who misappropriated the gold and silver of sacred vessels or mosaics on which icons were depicted, but also did likewise, using it to pay for houses and baths and theatres'.³⁸ Nikephoros, in the long diatribe against Constantine with which he concludes his third *Antirrhetikos*, compares the emperor unfavourably with a number of his predecessors, including Constantine the Great and Justinian, pointing to their buildings, among other things, as

³¹ *Life of St Stephen the Younger*, ed. and tr. Auzépy, §29, pp. 126–7, 221–2.

³² Nikephoros, *Antirrhetikoi*, III 65, PG 100, cols 497–8.

³³ See R. Ousterhout, 'The Architecture of Iconoclasm', in Brubaker and Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era*, 8; Nikephoros, *Short History*, 130–3.

³⁴ See in general R. Cormack, 'The Arts during the Age of Iconoclasm', in A. Bryer and J. Herrin (eds), *Iconoclasm* (Birmingham 1977), 35–44.

³⁵ Ousterhout, 'The Architecture of Iconoclasm', 19–21.

³⁶ Nikephoros, *Antirrhetikoi*, I 27, PG 100, col. 276 B.

³⁷ Mansi, XIII, 356.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 333

evidence of their superiority. But he does so by apostrophising Constantine V's apologists in words which imply that they regarded him as a great builder: 'If you are amazed at building works ... Do you attach importance to buildings, and take them to be a token of faith?'³⁹

This last remark seems specifically intended to refute an iconoclast claim that Constantine V had demonstrated his faith by building churches. That churches were built during his reign is evident from another of Nikephoros' accusations: so opposed was Constantine to the veneration of relics 'that the churches founded in his reign were consecrated without sacred relics'; instead, the iconoclasts used the consecrated elements of the Eucharist.⁴⁰ One of these churches can be identified for certain: the sanctuary of St Theodore of Sykeon in the Deuteron region of Constantinople. According to a ninth-century hagiography by the *skeuophylax* Nikephoros, Constantine burned down the original church in a fit of jealous rage, but was forced to rebuild it after a visitation from the saint.⁴¹ This looks like an attempt to give the reconstruction by Constantine a politically correct origin. Another church which Constantine may have built was that of the Virgin of the Pharos in the Great Palace.⁴² The adjoining terrace was one of his favourite haunts,⁴³ and the church is first recorded by Theophanes as the place where he solemnised the betrothal of his son, Leo IV, to Eirene of Athens, the future empress, in November 769.⁴⁴

As for Constantine's notorious hatred for monasticism, whose practitioners he reportedly referred to as 'the unmentionables',⁴⁵ it has been shown that there were iconoclast monks,⁴⁶ and that the emperor's persecution of some – but not all – monks did not begin until 766.⁴⁷ A recently published text shows the emperor's policy towards the monasteries of Constantinople in a nuanced light.⁴⁸ Here again, a pious and edifying tale contrives to make the

³⁹ Nikephoros, *Antirrhetikoi*, III.79, 81: PG 100, cols. 520,

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, II 5, col. 344A.

⁴¹ Ed. C. Kirch, 'Nicephori sceuophylaci encomium in S. Theodorum Siceotam', *Anal. Boll.*, 20 (1901), 270–71.

⁴² Cf. P. Magdalino, 'L'église du Phare et les reliques de la Passion à Constantinople', in Flusin and Durand (eds), *Byzance et les reliques du Christ*, 20–2.

⁴³ *Life of St Stephen the Younger*, ed. and tr. Auzépy, §55, pp. 154–5, 252.

⁴⁴ Theophanes, 444.

⁴⁵ Theophanes, 437–8; Nikephoros, *Refutatio et eversio*, ed. Featherstone, §23. 19–26

⁴⁶ K.M. Ringrose, 'Monks and Society in Iconoclastic Byzantium', *Byzantine Studies/Études Byzantines*, 6 (1979), 130–51, esp. 145ff.

⁴⁷ Auzépy, introduction to *Life of St Stephen the Younger*, 35–9.

⁴⁸ Ed. C. Angéliidi, 'Un texte patriographique et édifiant'; cf. C. Angelidi and T. Papamastorakis, 'The Veneration of the Virgin Hodegetria and the Hodegon Monastery', in Vassilaki (ed.), *Mother of God*, 373–87.

great persecutor of icons and monks the reluctant patron of a religious foundation, in this case the monastery of the Hodegoi, the cult centre of the famous icon of the Virgin Hodegetria. After recounting the legend of the foundation of the original church by the empress Pulcheria, the story tells how a monastic community became attached to it in circumstances arising from the breakdown of a mechanical clock to which Constantine was much attached. The only person with the technical know-how was a monk called Hypatios who lived on the island of Oxeia in the Sea of Marmara. Constantine not only overlooked Hypatios' unsuccessful attempt, when summoned, to hide his monkish identity, but even promised him a monastery if he got the clock to work. He offered a choice of three monasteries: that of Sts Sergios and Bacchos, that of Phloros, and that of Kallistratos; when Hypatios turned down all three, and asked instead to be given the church of the Hodegoi, Constantine was happy to oblige, even granting him a bonus in the form of a part of the adjacent Palace of Marina, a satellite house of the imperial Great Palace, where the imperial silk workshops were located. The basic information does not give grounds for suspicion, and it may reasonably be suggested that the abusive references to Constantine represent later, iconophile reworkings of a foundation story which was composed before 843 by a neutral or even pro-iconoclast member of the monastic community. One thinks, inevitably, of John the Grammarian, the last iconoclast patriarch, who was a reader at the Hodegoi when he joined the commission that engineered the revival of iconoclasm in 815.⁴⁹ Thus the episode may be taken as evidence that Constantine had a hand in the foundation of the Hodegetria monastery. It may also be taken as confirmation that three other monasteries – including two, those of Phloros and Kallistratos, which Nikephoros says that Constantine sold for money – were functioning in his reign. We can only guess why Hypatios did not want to take over any of these, but preferred to set up his own monastic community. We can, however, reasonably infer that Constantine would not have offered them to a monk if he had merely wanted to run the monasteries down, and that his policy towards the monasteries of the capital was partly a response to problems of recruitment, leadership and investment.

Iconophile accusations concerning the desecration and destruction of churches and the persecution of monks are too persistent to be dismissed entirely, but they have to be seen in the wider perspective outlined above. Perhaps they make most complete sense when they are seen in the light of a testimony that is independent or even favourable to Constantine. This is

⁴⁹ See *The Letter of the Three Patriarchs to Emperor Theophilus and Related Texts*, ed. and tr. J.A. Munitiz, J. Chrysostomides, E. Harvalia-Crook, Ch. Dendrinou (Camberley 1997), 110–11, 176–7.

the remark by Charlemagne in the *Libri Carolini* (794) to the effect that the Byzantines had got their priorities wrong by restoring religious images when their very churches lacked proper lighting or even roofing, as he had learned from Frankish ambassadors to Constantinople.⁵⁰ In other words, Constantine faced the need to rationalise the use and maintenance of a built environment which was far too big, and too dilapidated, for the requirements and resources of a shrunken population. It is instructive to look at the topography of the religious buildings mentioned in connection with his measures. All those which can be identified were located close to the south coast of the city, and with one exception (the monastery of Dalmatos), all the churches which he is said to have secularised or destroyed were close to the harbour of Julian or Sophia, which had been the main commercial port of Constantinople since the mid sixth century. It does seem, therefore, that his policy towards the built environment was one of concentrating settlement and commercial activity, and maximising the use of available buildings, in the area between the harbour of Julian and the Mese, the central avenue and main commercial artery of the city. Such concentration was consistent with the pattern of urban development before and after his reign. Both in the late sixth century, before large-scale building came to a halt, and in the late eighth century, when it revived again under the empress Eirene, the neighbourhoods around the harbour of Julian on the Marmara coast were developed at the expense of those beside the Golden Horn. This was the result of a deliberate relocation, by Justinian I or Justin II, of the wholesale food market from the Neorion to the harbour of Julian – a shift that Constantine V completed by moving the cattle market from the shore of the Golden Horn to the Forum of Theodosius.⁵¹ The shift is difficult to explain, but, as I have argued elsewhere, the best clue to an explanation lies in the association that Theophanes clearly draws between the dredging of the Neorion harbour and an outbreak of plague in 698.⁵² It is certainly an interesting coincidence that the sixth-century redevelopment of the harbour of Julian occurred after the great epidemic of 542 (when the bodies of plague dead had been piled high in towers and pits across the Golden Horn), and that the transfer of the cattle market to the Forum of Theodosius occurred in the reign which saw the plague mortality of 746–7. Constantine and his successors were not to know that the plague had spent itself in 747. When, eventually, he took steps to repopulate the city, it was natural for him to concentrate his

⁵⁰ *Libri Carolini*, IV 3, ed. A. Freeman and P. Meyvaert, *Opus Caroli Regis contra Synodum (Libri Carolini)*, MGH Concilia, II, Supplement 1 (Hanover 1998), 494–5.

⁵¹ See above, n. 9.

⁵² Theophanes, 370; Magdalino, 'Maritime Neighborhoods', (no. III in this volume), 217–19.

efforts in the area where the contagion was least likely to spread. It also made sense to make full use of existing buildings in this area, including some of the smaller churches which were falling into disrepair. The accent was therefore on repair, redecoration and re-use. Demographic recovery and economic support had to take priority, and it was here that Constantine made his most important material contribution to urban revival.

Social and economic measures

The measure that made a decisive difference was, undoubtedly, the repopulation of Constantinople after the plague. In the words of Theophanes, ‘the inhabitants having become few because of the plague, he brought entire families from the islands, Hellas and the Peloponnese (κατωτικὰ μέρη); he caused the city to be settled and made its habitation denser’.⁵³ Nikephoros repeats the same information in less detail.⁵⁴ However, the two chroniclers offer different chronologies. Whereas Nikephoros reports the measure when one would expect it, immediately after the plague, Theophanes records it under his entry for the year 754–5, eight years later. At first sight, Nikephoros seems to make better sense, and Theophanes’ apparent error is easily explained by the mention, in the same chronological entry, of another population transfer, in this case of Syrians and Armenians from Theodosiopolis to Thrace: this information reminded the chronicler of the settling of Constantinople, which he had omitted to mention earlier. But how likely is it that the plague and the repopulation would have become detached from each other, either in Theophanes’ memory or in his source, if they had really occurred in quick succession? An equally plausible explanation for the discrepancy is that Nikephoros decided to rationalise the chronology of two disconnected events by connecting them. It is not hard to see why the repopulation of Constantinople might have been delayed. The years following the plague were a time of crisis in the neighbouring caliphate which, until the final overthrow of the Ummayyad dynasty and the consolidation of the Abbasid regime, offered great opportunities for Byzantine military aggression. At this point in his reign, after the disasters of earthquake, rebellion and plague, Constantine arguably needed military success more than anything to establish his political credibility. This is a point to which we shall return when we look at the ideological context. For now, we may note that the repopulation of Constantinople was one of three population transfers carried out by Constantine, and that he chose not to populate the city with the Armenians and

⁵³ Theophanes, 429.

⁵⁴ Nikephoros, *Short History*, 140–41.

Syrians whom he transplanted to Thrace from the eastern frontier areas.⁵⁵ This may have had something to do with their religious heterodoxy, for they were either Monophysites or Paulicians, or perhaps with their experience of frontier warfare, which would have made them useful in the defence of the hinterland of Constantinople against the Bulgars. Correspondingly, the inhabitants of the Greek coasts and islands were more suitable for replenishing the population of the city itself. Unfortunately, we have no indication, from the chroniclers or from any other sources, of the numbers and social categories involved. We may recall that even after the repopulation, there were not enough skilled workers in Constantinople to repair the aqueduct. We may also note that Constantine later married his son and heir to an Athenian bride,⁵⁶ perhaps an indication of the regional connection he had formed via the new citizens of Constantinople.

Constantine further added to the population of Constantinople by expanding the two corps of palatine guards, the Scholae and the Excubitors, from parade units into substantial regiments or *tagmata* of elite campaign troops under the command of officers called *domestikoi*. The origins of the *tagmata* have been well studied, and the consensus is that the Scholae and the Excubitors were reconstituted early in Constantine's reign, after his suppression of the usurpation of Artabasdos. Artabasdos had been commander of the Opsikion theme, that is the main army based in the part of Asia Minor opposite Constantinople; thus it is reasonable to see the creation of the *tagmata* as part of the package of measures which were designed to prevent a recurrence of that threat, and which also included the division of the Opsikion into three smaller themes.⁵⁷ However, the new *tagmata* are first attested in connection with events of 765,⁵⁸ so their creation twenty or more years earlier is hypothetical and other hypotheses cannot be excluded. What is certain is that the *tagmata* were a conspicuous and privileged element in the population of the capital, who figure prominently in the iconophile critique of Constantine V. According to Theophanes and Nikephoros, his secularisation of monasteries and churches was done largely, if not entirely, to accommodate them.⁵⁹ It is clear not only from the sources for his reign but also from the *De cerimoniis* that the Scholae and Excubitors played an important part in public ceremonial, in association

⁵⁵ Theophanes, 422, 429.

⁵⁶ Theophanes, 444; cf. PBW; Herrin, *Women in Purple*, 538.

⁵⁷ Haldon, *Byzantine Praetorians*, 191–235; idem, 'Strategies of defence, problems of security: the garrisons of Constantinople in the middle Byzantine period', in Mango and Dagron (eds), *Constantinople and its Hinterland*, 148–9.

⁵⁸ Theophanes, 437.

⁵⁹ Above, nn. 23–4

with the circus factions of the Blues and the Greens.⁶⁰ They were vociferous in support of Constantine's religious policies during and long after his lifetime, and their veteran survivors welcomed and encouraged the revival of iconoclasm in 815; as Nikephoros cynically remarked, they missed the generous allowances with which Constantine had provided them.⁶¹

Nikephoros and Theophanes in their chronicles,⁶² and Nikephoros again in his anti-iconoclast tracts⁶³, criticise Constantine's financial policies, saying that he oppressed the peasantry with heavy demands for taxes in cash, which obliged them to sell their produce at reduced prices. Yet the criticisms are linked with an admission that what was bad for the peasants was good for the people of Constantinople. According to Nikephoros, the emperor was able to pay good wages to the labourers who worked on the repair of the aqueduct, and there was an abundance of cheap food on the market.⁶⁴ He calls it a spurious abundance, but it must have been real enough for the newly augmented population of the capital. There must also have been sufficient cash circulating in the economy. Moreover, as Oikonomides has pointed out, the payment of basic taxes in money remained in force under later emperors,⁶⁵ and as I have noted elsewhere, the provisioning of Constantinople in later centuries was essentially a commercial process, based on the marketing of surplus by the peasant producer.⁶⁶ Constantine thus seems to have introduced a structural interdependence between urban infrastructure and state finance which was to be fundamental to the two features of Byzantium that foreigners found remarkable, namely its liquid wealth and its enormous capital city: the provisioning of Constantinople depended on taxation in cash, and the ability

⁶⁰ The *domestikoi* of the Scholae and Excubitors doubled as the leaders (*demokratai*) of the 'peratic' Blues and Greens respectively, that is the members of the Blue and Green factions identified with the suburb of Pera across the Golden Horn: *De cer.* I 1, ed. Reiske, 12–14, 19–20; ed. and tr. Vogt, I, 8–10, 14–15; for other references and discussion, see R. Guiland, 'Les factions', *EEBS*, 23 (1953), 1–26, esp. 9–10 (= R. Guiland, *Études de topographie*, 424–5), and Haldon, *Byzantine Praetorians*, 266–70, where it is suggested that the association dated from the time of Constantine V.

⁶¹ Theophanes, 437; Nikephoros, PG 100, cols. 493, 556; cf. *Life of St Stephen the Younger*, ed. and tr. Auzépy, 27–9, 165, 263. The ninth-century St Ioannikios was from an Iconoclast background, and was serving in the Excubitors before his conversion: see E. Kountoura-Galake 'Ὁ Βυζαντινὸς κληρὸς καὶ ἡ κοινὴ τῶν «σχοτειῶν αἰώνων»' (Athens 1996), 196–8.

⁶² See above, n. 13

⁶³ PG 100, cols. 513–16.

⁶⁴ *Short History*, 160–61.

⁶⁵ N. Oikonomides, *Fiscalité et exemption fiscale à Byzance (IXe–XIe s.)* (Athens 1996), 35–6.

⁶⁶ 'The grain supply of Constantinople, ninth–twelfth centuries' [no. IX in this volume]; see also G. Dagron in Laiou (ed.), *Economic History of Byzantium*, 445–53.

of the peasantry to pay taxes in cash depended on the existence of a large urban market.

Between the transfer of population from Greece and the islands, the expansion of the Scholae and the Excubitors, and the fiscal reforms introduced wholly or partly to provide the infrastructure of the new demographic concentration, the social and economic policy of Constantine V involved a major, sustained investment in the future of Constantinople. Could he fail to invest this material investment with heavy ideological significance?

Ideology

The ideological aspect of the renewal of Constantinople under Constantine V is possibly the most interesting of all. It is also the most elusive, since it has proved the most susceptible to suppression and distortion by the iconophile rewriting of history. But ideology clearly meant a great deal to Constantine V. He inherited the ideological concerns and traditions of a long line of predecessors, including, in recent times, the image and ceremonial-conscious Justinian II,⁶⁷ and his own father, Leo III, who jointly with Constantine had promulgated a law code, the *Ecloga*.⁶⁸ Constantine had learned men in his entourage, and was himself a man of ideas. He may well have been interested in astronomy.⁶⁹ He certainly formulated and orchestrated the theological defence of iconoclasm that culminated in the council of 754. During the previous year, according to Theophanes, he held daily assemblies, *silentia*, at which he preached to the people and won them over to his point of view.⁷⁰ At the same time, he worked on the episcopate with a series of *Peuseis*, theological questions and propositions, of which he was regarded as the author.⁷¹ It is an impressive testimony to Constantine's powers of persuasion that three hundred and thirty

⁶⁷ Justinian's consciously high profile is evident from Theophanes' account of his campaigns and buildings, the preface to the canons of the Quinisext council, and his coinage: see in general C. Head, *Justinian II of Byzantium* (Madison, WI, 1972).

⁶⁸ Ed. and tr. L. Burgmann, *Ecloga. Das Gesetzbuch Leons III. und Konstantinos V.* (Frankfurt am Main 1983).

⁶⁹ The earliest manuscript of Ptolemy's *Handy Tables*, the de luxe Vaticanus graecus 1291, is now dated to his reign (Brubaker and Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era*, 37–40), and as we have already seen, the monastery of the Hodegoi reportedly owed its foundation to Constantine's concern for the functioning of the Palace clock (above, p. 9 and n. 45).

⁷⁰ Theophanes, 427.

⁷¹ Preserved in the Acts of the Seventh Council and in the refutations of the patriarch Nikephoros: see Brubaker and Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era*, 254–5.

eight bishops answered his summons to the council,⁷² and it was no doubt at his insistence that the meeting declared itself to be the Seventh Ecumenical Council, and carefully defined its agenda with constant reference and deference to the previous six.⁷³ After the final session of the council at the Blachernae church, Constantine took the unprecedented step of leading the patriarch and all the assembled bishops in procession to the Forum of Constantine, where the definition and the anathemas issued by the council were proclaimed to the populace.⁷⁴

This concluding ceremony is not an isolated example of Constantine's concern to make the most of a medium which not only enhanced the value of words and pictures, but often subsumed and surpassed them both in the articulation of political ideology. His reign stands out as a memorable stage in the development of imperial ceremonial. It has been established that the chapters in the *De cerimoniis* prescribing the rituals for the investiture of a caesar and a nobelissimus describe the order of ceremony that was followed on 2 April 769 in the promotions of Constantine's sons by his second marriage.⁷⁵ The significance of this fact is that he or his officials evidently made some effort to codify ceremonial practice in the way that Peter the Patrician had done in the sixth century and Constantine VII was to do in the tenth. Constantine V may have been concerned to emphasise ceremonies that had to do with the consolidation of his dynasty, and such emphasis seems reflected in the detail with which Theophanes records the family ceremonies of 769 – both the promotions of the emperor's younger sons and the marriage of his son and heir Leo IV later in the same year.⁷⁶ In this context, it is worth noting that Leo is the first imperial heir-apparent to be described as *porphyrogenitus*, 'born in (or to) the Purple'.⁷⁷

Constantine's interest in ceremonial, however, was far from being limited to dynastic or religious occasions. In 763, following a victory over the Bulgars, he celebrated the first triumph recorded in Constantinople since the time of Heraclius. In Theophanes' words, 'he entered in arms with the army, acclaimed by the factions and dragging the captive Bulgars after him in shackles'.⁷⁸ The

⁷² Theophanes, 427–8.

⁷³ Mansi, XIII, 217–37.

⁷⁴ Theophanes, 428.

⁷⁵ *De cer.*, ed. Reiske, 217–29; ed. Vogt, II, 26–38, and Vogt, *Commentaire*, II, 42–52, following Ch. Diehl, *Études Byzantines* (Paris 1905), 296–302.

⁷⁶ Theophanes, 443–4.

⁷⁷ In a Neapolitan contract datable to 763: see Dagron, 'Nés dans la pourpre', 113.

⁷⁸ Theophanes, 433; cf. McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, 70–72, 135–6.

emperor celebrated another triumph in 772 or 774, about which no details are given.⁷⁹

Yet the occasions that are given greatest prominence in the sources are those in which Constantine used the hippodrome to humiliate or condemn his opponents. One such event, the ritual humiliation of the defeated Artabasdos and his sons, occurred early in the reign.⁸⁰ Most, however, are recorded in the context of the 760s, in connection with a series of religious persecutions and prosecutions for treason.⁸¹ On 21 August 766, monks were humiliated by being forced to walk around the Hippodrome hand in hand with women.⁸² Four days later, nineteen high-ranking conspirators were paraded in disgrace before being executed or blinded.⁸³ Shortly afterwards the patriarch Constantine was charged with complicity and sent into exile until October of the following year, when he was brought back, ritually dethroned in Hagia Sophia on the 6th, and publicly humiliated in the Hippodrome on the 7th.⁸⁴ These spectacles are recorded by Theophanes in connection with the performance of games. The *Life of St Stephen the Younger*, however, mentions two earlier events (760?) as if they were assemblies specially convened to secure popular condemnation of the saint: the emperor voiced his grievances, and the mob howled for the holy man's destruction.⁸⁵ The second of these occasions – attended, according to the text, by people of every age and both sexes in such crowds that they almost asphyxiated each other – is in fact described as a *silentium*, exactly the word used by Theophanes of the popular assemblies in which Constantine had preached to the people in preparation for the council of 754.⁸⁶ It is possible, therefore, that the Hippodrome had been one of the venues for these gatherings, as well as for another, also described in the *Life of St Stephen the Younger*, in which Constantine had made the people swear on the Eucharist, the Bible and the Cross that they would not revere relics or consort with monks.⁸⁷

Both Nikephoros and the hagiographer of Stephen the Younger make much of Constantine's passion for the Hippodrome, which they characterise as

⁷⁹ Theophanes, 447.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 420–21.

⁸¹ On the crisis of the years 765–7, see Auzépy, *Vie d'Étienne le Jeune*, 22ff.

⁸² Theophanes, 437–8.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 438.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 438–9, 441–2.

⁸⁵ Ed. and tr. Auzépy, §§39–40, pp. 234–7, 139–41.

⁸⁶ It is also used of the assembly held by Leo III for the condemnation of icons, on Tuesday 13 January 729 in the Tribunal of the Nineteen Couches: Theophanes, 408–9.

⁸⁷ Ed. and tr. Auzépy, §24, pp. 120, 212, and n. 158.

a hedonistic taste for profane entertainment.⁸⁸ In the same vein, the *Life of St Stephen the Younger*, describes the emperor's observance of the ancient Brumalia ceremony as a piece of sensual indulgence.⁸⁹ Yet it is clear from the evidence just discussed that more than mere entertainment was at stake. Constantine treated the Hippodrome as a forum for the display of imperial authority. It was just as serious a ceremonial venue as the Palace, and like the Brumalia in the Palace, the games were an integral part of the building's tradition.

It is nevertheless significant that Constantine apparently showed such a preference for the Hippodrome and its rituals. There are many indications that this preference went deep. He honoured the winning chariot teams with lights and incense in processions involving the clergy.⁹⁰ He took special care to preserve pictures of chariot racing,⁹¹ and is said to have replaced the murals at the Milion depicting the Six Ecumenical Councils with circus scenes, including a picture of his favourite charioteer Ouraniakos.⁹² The faction leaders were prominent advocates of the return to iconoclasm in 815,⁹³ and as we have seen, Constantine's elite troops, the reconstituted Scholae and the Excubitors, were integrated with the Blue and Green factions in ceremonial receptions.⁹⁴ The circus games and factions were Constantinople's most tangible and best-remembered link with the civic traditions of ancient Rome. They represented the validation of imperial power and authority by the populace of the reigning city that one Constantine had founded and another Constantine had repopulated with citizens who were thus Constantine's people in more than one sense.

Constantine V's dealings with Constantinople make complete sense in the light of the name that Leo III had given his son in December 718. Constantine was a common name and, it might be thought, an obvious choice for an imperial baby. Yet emperors had not used it that often, and Constantine V was the first imperial person, baby or adult, to receive the name in almost

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, §§39–40, pp. 140–41, 234–5; Nikephoros in PG 100, cols. 229, 556; Nikephoros, ed. Featherstone, *Refutatio et eversio*, 77–8.

⁸⁹ Ed. and tr. Auzépy, §63, pp. 164–5, 262–3.

⁹⁰ Nikephoros, ed. Featherstone, *Refutatio et eversio*, 77–8.

⁹¹ *Life of St Stephen the Younger*, ed. and tr. Auzépy, §26, pp. 121, 215.

⁹² *Ibid.*, §65, pp. 166, 265. Auzépy (n. 413) follows Gero and Speck in doubting that Constantine would have removed an image of the Councils, and considers it more likely that he would have added a representation of the 'seventh' council (of 754). She suggests that the picture of the charioteer really depicted the ascension of Elijah. But from the emperor's point of view, both the representation of the Councils and the image of Elijah would have been religious icons.

⁹³ Nikephoros, PG 100, col. 556.

⁹⁴ See above, n. 60.

seventy years.⁹⁵ This was not for lack of opportunity. The last two emperors of the Heraclian dynasty, Constantine IV and Justinian II, produced children, and all but one of the five usurpers who took power, either in 695–705, between the two reigns of Justinian II, or from 711 to 717, changed their names on becoming emperor. They included Leo III, who was formerly called Konon. It is clear from all these cases that emperors were expected to acquire ‘authentic’ imperial names; it is equally clear that the precedents set by Justin II in 578 and the first two generations of Heraclian emperors, who had revived the name Constantine, were deliberately not being followed. Was there a reluctance to devalue the name by over-use, or were the early Heraclians considered to have compromised it? Had they brought down divine displeasure merely by their presumption in using it? Either way, a name was evidently a potent symbol. ‘Toujours et partout, on considère que le nom est porteur de virtualités, qu’il transmet à celui qui le reçoit les vertus, les traits de caractère ou la chance de ceux qui avant lui l’ont porté’. This remark by Gilbert Dagron reflects not only general anthropological wisdom, but also references in Byzantine texts, from which it emerges that the naming of an imperial child was a matter of public concern, especially for the circus factions, who on occasions in the sixth century were allowed at least a semblance of initiative in choosing and even debating the name, and who thereafter played an important ceremonial role in pronouncing the name for the first time.⁹⁶ All in all, it seems quite likely that Constantine grew up, and took power, with the expectation that he should live up to the name of the first Christian emperor.

Did he do so? Let us consider the following facts.

1. Constantine V started his reign by having to fight a civil war against his brother-in-law for the possession of Constantinople, which he placed under siege. The military confrontation between Constantine the Great and his brother-in-law Licinius had taken place in and around Byzantium, and in the course of it Constantine had besieged the city.⁹⁷ The memory of this siege was preserved – and enhanced – in the medieval folklore of Constantinople, as reflected in the *Parastaseis* and *Patria*.⁹⁸
2. Constantine V convened a church council which he regarded as the seventh in the series of ecumenical councils inaugurated by Constantine

⁹⁵ For this and the following, see Magdalino, ‘The Distance of the Past’, 135–40.

⁹⁶ Dagron, ‘Nés dans la pourpre’, 124–5 and *passim*.

⁹⁷ Zosimus, II 23–, ed. and tr. F. Paschoud, I (Paris 1971), 95–8.

⁹⁸ *Parastaseis* 52, 54, 57, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, 54, 55, 57; ed. and tr. Camerton and Herrin, 126–7, 128–9, 132–3; *Patria* I 71, II 45, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, 149, 174; Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire*, 83ff.

the Great in 325. The bishops of the council hailed the emperor as New Constantine.⁹⁹ If this was a formality, they made it less so by praising him as the equal of the apostles who had put an end to idolatry¹⁰⁰ – both statements, which drew heavy criticism from iconophiles,¹⁰¹ are clear reminiscences of the first Christian emperor.

3. Constantine V repopulated the city that Constantine the Great had founded and peopled, and like the founder, he introduced fiscal measures which ensured the city's food supply.¹⁰² Much later, the emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos who reoccupied and resettled the city after the Latin occupation, was celebrated as a New Constantine.¹⁰³
4. Constantine V reconstituted the Scholae and the Excubitors in a package of military reforms, of which it has been said that they 'mark an important innovation on the part of the emperor, and a return in some ways to the military principles established by Constantine I, that is, with field armies established behind the frontiers, and a small but elite force at the emperor's immediate disposal'.¹⁰⁴ By the tenth century at the latest, the original palatine quarters of the Scholae and Excubitors were believed – probably correctly – to have been built by Constantine the Great.¹⁰⁵

How far Constantine V was aware of these Constantinian parallels is another matter. However, we must be careful not to base our estimation on iconophile comments about iconoclast 'boorishness',¹⁰⁶ or on the ungrammatical ignorance reflected – or affected? – in the *Parastaseis*, whose cryptic gobbledygook has been taken far too literally as an indicator of the intellectual level in eighth-century Constantinople.¹⁰⁷ Rather, we should ask how a theologically-minded emperor and his clerical advisers who were combing the writings of the Fathers for statements against images could have failed to turn up at least the main ecclesiastical sources for Constantine the Great. Iconophiles certainly pounced

⁹⁹ Mansi, XIII, 353A.

¹⁰⁰ Mansi, XIII, 225D, 353B.

¹⁰¹ Mansi, XIII, 225E^{ff}, 353D^{ff}; *Life of St Stephen the Younger*, ed. and tr. Auzépy, §29, pp. 128, 223; Nikephoros, *Apologeticus*, PG 100, col. 601A.

¹⁰² Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, II 3.5

¹⁰³ R. Macrides, 'The New Constantine and the New Constantinople – 1261?', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 6 (1980), 13–42.

¹⁰⁴ Haldon, *Byzantine Praetorians*, 209.

¹⁰⁵ Patria, I 59, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, 144; cf. Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 216–17.

¹⁰⁶ Nikephoros, *Antirrhetikoi*, III, PG 100, col. 488 A-B.

¹⁰⁷ Cameron and Herrin, introduction.

on their use of Eusebius.¹⁰⁸ The practical application of Constantine V's iconoclasm becomes most intelligible when it is seen in terms of a conscious return to what he perceived as the original, unadulterated form of Roman imperial Christianity. His hostility to monasticism looked back to a time before monasteries had proliferated in town and country. The veneration of the Cross which he promoted had strong Constantinian associations; thus the murals depicting plain crosses and plant and animal motifs which he put up in place of Christian iconic decoration were surely imitated from old churches in Constantinople that he considered characteristic of early Christianity,¹⁰⁹ and belonged to the same cultural package as the cultivation of ancient ritual traditions. So Constantine V emerges as a ruler with an unusually precise and coherent notion of Roman, and specifically Constantinian, style. It is probably in the light of this sense of authenticity that we should interpret a curious detail in the *Life of St Stephen the Younger*. When Constantine sends his agent, George, to 'frame' the saint, Stephen recognises him immediately as one of the emperor's entourage from his dress, his face, and above all his beard. For, contrary to Mosaic law, Constantine insisted that all men, old and young, should curl their beards - and the author of the *Life* remarks that there were still seventy-year olds in his own day (i.e. in 809) who wore their beards in this way in loyalty to Constantine's memory.¹¹⁰ These were probably the cashiered veterans of the *tagmata* mentioned by Nikephoros. The implication is that Constantine wanted young, virile-looking men around him for unsavoury sexual reasons, but could it not be that he wanted his elite troops to look like the *scholarii* of the fourth century, with short, curly beards?

We have no evidence that Constantine V explicitly identified with Constantine the Great. But we might perhaps infer, from an inverted reading of iconophile polemic, that his official announcements, such as the victory bulletins which he despatched to Constantinople from the campaign front,¹¹¹ did contain statements to this effect. When Theophanes compares him to famous tyrants

¹⁰⁸ Nikephoros, *Apologeticus*, PG 100, cols. 561-4.

¹⁰⁹ The replacement of iconic decoration with plain crosses is securely attested in Constantinople at Hagia Eirene and at Hagia Sophia, and in Nicaea at the church of the Koimesis: see R. Cormack, *Byzantine Art* (Oxford 2000), 92-5. No surviving church decoration with plant and animal motifs can be reliably dated to the iconoclast period, and the only textual evidence is that of the *Life of St Stephen the Younger*, which says that Constantine V redecorated the Blachernae church with mosaics depicting 'all kinds of trees and birds, beasts and other things in ivy scrolls with cranes, crows and peacocks' (ed. Auzépy, §29, pp. 127, 222). It has been suggested that the mosaics were already in the church, but I see no reason to doubt that Constantine added them.

¹¹⁰ *Life of St Stephen the Younger*, ed. Auzépy, §38, pp. 137-8, 232-3.

¹¹¹ Mentioned in *Antirrhetikoi*, III, PG 100, col. 508B.

and persecutors of old – Diocletian, Julian, Valens¹¹² – and when Nikephoros holds up Constantine, Theodosius and Justinian as models of everything that is lacking in ‘Mammon’, as he calls Constantine V,¹¹³ are they not implicitly countering the latter’s claim to be a New Constantine?

Constantine the Great was definitely in the air in the mid eighth century.¹¹⁴ This was the period when the hagiography of St Constantine was being promoted in a sense that favoured the rising political status of the papacy. The forgery of the *Donation of Constantine* is ascribed to the 750s or 760s. Certainly, the image of Constantine as a pious son of the Roman church was complete by the 780s, when Pope Hadrian I addressed Charlemagne as a New Constantine,¹¹⁵ and graciously rewarded the empress Eirene and Constantine VI for their part in summoning the council of 787 by bestowing on them the titles of New Helen and New Constantine.¹¹⁶ Rome was the main centre of opposition to iconoclasm, yet Constantine V maintained diplomatic contacts from which he would have been aware of the papal attempt to appropriate and clericalise the Constantinian legacy. He would also have realised its implications for the developing role of the Carolingian kings, Pippin and Charlemagne, as protectors of the Holy See. The Carolingian-Papal axis was not yet a fixture, and Constantine had hopes of replacing it with a Frankish-Byzantine partnership. He sent embassies to Pippin and Charlemagne with a view to settling their differences in Italy and forging a marriage alliance. The Franks were not unreceptive to these overtures, or indeed to the iconoclast theology of the Byzantine ambassadors.¹¹⁷ Constantine V’s Constantinian profile was not irrelevant to these negotiations.

Altogether, there is much to suggest that Constantine V did take his role as a New Constantine very seriously, and acted on it more systematically than any of his predecessors, in a way which anticipated the *renovatio imperii* of Charlemagne. This means that his actions with regard to Constantinople were informed by an ideology of Constantinian renewal which made him see his repopulation and modest rebuilding programme as a new foundation of the

¹¹² Theophanes 432, 448.

¹¹³ *Antirrhetikoi*, III, cols. 517–24.

¹¹⁴ See in general A.P. Kazhdan, ‘“Constantin imaginaire”; Byzantine Legends of the Ninth Century about Constantine the Great’, *Byzantion*, 57 (1987), 196–250; J. Herrin, *The Formation of Christendom* (London 1987), chapter 9, esp. 385–7.

¹¹⁵ *Codex Carolinus*, ed. W. Gundlach, MGH Epistolae III (1892), 587.

¹¹⁶ Mansi, XII, 1055–8; XIII, 416.

¹¹⁷ See M. McCormick, ‘Textes, images et iconoclasme dans le cadre des relations entre Byzance et l’Occident carolingien’, *Testo e immagine nel alto medioevo* [= *Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull’alto medioevo*, 41 (1994)], 95–158.

city. But how did his Constantinian self-conception evolve? Specifically, did it react to, or did it provoke, the appropriation of Constantine the Great by popes and iconophiles? The answer to this question depends partly on how we answer the further question that now becomes central to the conclusion of this paper. Of the emperor's two major Constantinian acts, the convocation of an 'ecumenical' council to abolish idolatry and heresy, and the refoundation of Constantinople, which came first? Here the problem posed by the discordant chronologies of Nikephoros and Theophanes does become crucial. If we opt for the 'logical' order of events presented by Nikephoros, we have to conclude that Constantine repopulated Constantinople immediately after the plague, and then, on the basis of this re-foundation of Constantine's city, worked towards the imposition of a purified Constantinian orthodoxy. If, on the other hand, we adopt the chronology of Theophanes, we have to accept that the repopulation of Constantinople came a year or two after the affirmation of orthodoxy at the council of 754. Both scenarios have much to be said for them. I am inclined to favour that presented by Theophanes for several reasons. Firstly, Theophanes is the more detailed and on balance the more reliable source. Secondly, all the sources give the impression that it was only with the preparations for the council of 754 that Constantine began to adopt a high ideological profile. Thirdly, after the disasters of the 740s – earthquake, civil war and plague – Constantine's immediate priority was to convince his subjects that he was meriting divine favour. This meant winning victories and working for the purification of the faith; in other words, taking military advantage of the crisis in the Caliphate, and purging the church of the idolatry which had caused the recent visitations of God's wrath. In the meantime, Constantinople could wait, especially since it was hardly essential to the war effort. On the contrary, as the repopulation of the city and the rebuilding of the aqueduct would show, the economic and demographic strength of the empire lay in its provinces. It has been shown, from dendrochronology, that the timbers used in rebuilding Hagia Eirene came from trees felled in 753:¹¹⁸ thus the church lay in ruins for at least thirteen years after the earthquake that destroyed it in 740, and its reconstruction coincided with or followed the council of 754.

The implications are significant. Firstly, if the repopulation of Constantinople followed the iconoclast council, it suggests that the council was what confirmed Constantine V in his Constantinian role, that it was his acclamation as the New Constantine, the equal of the apostles who had saved his people from idolatry, which convinced him that the next thing he had to do was renovate Constantine's city. Secondly, if Constantine did not properly fulfil

¹¹⁸ Ousterhout in Brubaker and Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era*, 5–6, 8.

the main aspects of his Constantinian role until the mid 750s, it may be that other features of this role appeared later rather than sooner. The obvious case in point is the inauguration of the *tagmata*. By re-launching the ancient palatine units of the Scholae and the Excubitors as an elite fighting force, the emperor proclaimed that his military reforms were part of his return to Constantine the Great. So should these reforms necessarily be connected with the beginning of his reign, and with the aftermath of the civil war? Should they not rather be seen in closer connection with the events of the 750s and early 760s which reflect the emperor's more confident ideological profile? Thirdly, if it is true that Constantine let nine years pass before repopulating Constantinople after the plague, it would seem that both he and the empire had found it easy to live with a small, inexpensive capital city – and might have gone on living with it, but for the ideological impulse given by the council of 754, after which it became impossible for a self-respecting New Constantine to operate in an empty, run-down Constantinople.

Whatever the relative chronology of the council and the repopulation, it does seem clear that the demographic recovery of Constantinople would have taken much longer if it had not been given an imperial helping hand. Here again, there is an interesting contrast with the sixth century. After the plague mortality of 542, Justinian did not need to transplant whole families in order for Constantinople to become once more, by the end of his reign, a crowded urban space suffering from popular riots, fires, and shortages of food and water.¹¹⁹ The city appears to have filled up by spontaneous immigration of the kind that Justinian had attempted to control by legislation.¹²⁰ There was no such natural drift in the eighth century, and it required substantial government investment to make the people and the materials flow: an investment driven by ideology rather than by practical considerations.

Naturally, the ideology was not the invention of Constantine V, and we may think that the investment would have been made sooner or later. Indeed, the Byzantines had already invested heavily in the future of Constantinople. After the abortive attempts of Heraclius and Constans II to relocate to the West,¹²¹ and the successful defences of Constantinople against the Avars and Arabs in 626, 674–8, and 717–18, no Byzantine emperor could have considered relocating on a permanent basis. It is also difficult to imagine the Byzantine emperors practising itinerant kingship like their western contemporaries. But

¹¹⁹ John Malalas, *Chronographia*, ed. Thurn, 411–32.

¹²⁰ Novels, 8, 80, 88; cf. B. Croke, 'Justinian's Constantinople', in Maas (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian*, 67–73.

¹²¹ Heraclius: Nikephoros, *Short History*, 48–9; Constans II: Theophanes, 348.

the events of the 740s, especially the mortality of 746–7, did give Constantine V the option of developing a state more like the Frankish or the Ummayyad monarchies, a state whose identity did not depend on the artificial maintenance of a single, disproportionately large urban centre. That he decided not to exercise this option – reaching his decision, as I believe, after a lengthy pause for reflection – was due, I suggest, to his intense and rigorous interpretation of his imperial duty.

Constantine V may have been responsible for accelerating some changes to the quality of urban life, like burying bodies and marketing animals downtown. Mainly, however, he confirmed the pattern of urban development that had crystallised in the sixth century and barely moved on since then. His great contribution was to confirm Constantinople in the role in which it was to continue until 1204, and which distinguished Byzantium from all other medieval cultures: the role of the ‘reigning city’ as not only the capital but the very essence of the state. It was his investment in the future of Constantinople which led, a century later, to Photios’ vision of the city as a fount of orthodoxy irrigating the inhabited world.¹²² The orthodoxy was different of course, but the perspective was the same, and in this sense the Middle Ages in Constantinople can be said to have begun with Constantine V.

¹²² Photios, *Letter to the eastern bishops*, ed. L. Westerink, *Photii patriarchae Constantinopolitani epistulae et Amphilochia*, I (Leipzig 1983), 41.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE NEA EKKLESIA OF BASIL I*

Of the many Byzantine churches which have disappeared without physical trace, the most famous and the most deeply regretted is probably the church of the Holy Apostles. A strong contender for second place must be the church which the emperor Basil I built next to the imperial palace between 876 and 880, and which was variously known as the 'New Church', the 'New Imperial Church', the 'New Great Church', and the 'Great New Church'¹. The Nea takes pride of place in Constantine VII's encomiastic description of his grandfather's buildings²; it is also the only one of them singled out for mention by the more laconic and less enthusiastic chronicle accounts of Basil's reign, which record not only its completion, but also something of the preliminaries and the process of its construction³. From the *Vita Basilii* we know that Basil personally directed and supervised the work; we know, too, roughly where the church stood and enough about its appearance to be able to discern an approximate architectural likeness in surviving buildings such as the north church of the monastery of Constantine Lips and the cathedral of St. Sophia in Kiev. From the 'synoptic' chronicles we know that the building materials included numerous *spolia*, and that much of the labour was provided by sailors of the imperial fleet who were busy at work on the site when they should have been sailing to the defence of Syracuse. From the ceremonial treatises of Philotheos and Constantine VII we know of the main occasions when it was used, and other contemporary sources give the names of some of its personnel⁴. The

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¹ N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles*. Paris 1972, 215. 217; Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De cerimoniis* (Bonn) 114 ff. (ed. A. VOÛT, I 107 ff.); Theophanes Continuatus (Bonn) 319; Liutprand of Cremona, *Antapodosis* I 10: edd. A. BAUER, R. RAU, *Quellen zur Geschichte der sächsischen Kaiserzeit*. Darmstadt 1977, 256.

² Theoph. Cont. 325 ff.; tr. C. MANGO, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312-1453. Sources and Documents*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1972, 194-5.

³ Pseudo-Symeon (Bonn) 691-2; Georgius Monachus Continuatus (Bonn) 843-4. 845; Leo Grammaticus (Bonn) 256-8.

⁴ OIKONOMIDÈS, *Listes*, *loc. cit.*; *De cer.*, *loc. cit.*; Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, ed. Gy. MORAVCSIK, tr. R. JENKINS. Washington, D.C., 1967, 244.

relevant facts are all synthesised in secondary literature, and do not, in themselves, need to be restated⁵. The Nea is as famous and familiar to Byzantinists as the surviving work of art which is closest to it in date and in conception, the Codex Parisinus graecus 510⁶. However, as with that famous illuminated manuscript, some obvious aspects of the Nea have some perhaps not so obvious implications for our understanding of the monument's cultural and ideological significance. In exploring these implications, I hope to demonstrate that the Nea has a very individual and transitional place in the changing continuum of Byzantine imperial religious patronage. However we choose to designate the poles which define the spectrum of Byzantine ecclesiastical foundations – whether as public and private, or diocesan and palatine, or civic and imperial, or spiritual and secular – we shall find that the Nea proves extraordinarily difficult to polarise.

1. *The epithet 'Nea'*

There seems to be no reason to doubt the statement by the 'synoptic' chronicles that Basil officially designated the Nea as such at the time of its consecration⁷; the epithet was certainly official by 899⁸. For one thing, it served the very practical purpose of distinguishing Basil's most important new foundation from the many great churches which he merely repaired and restored⁹; for another, it emphasised that this was the most ambitious

See also the lemmata to *Anthologia graeca* VII 327. 334, 429 (H. ΒΕΡΚΒΥ, *Anthologia Graeca*. Munich 1957, II 9) for the school of the Nea, its Master Gregory Kampsikios and his pupil (?) Kephala, redactor of the precursor of the Palatine Anthology, who may or may not be identical with Constantine Kephala, *protopapas* of the Palace in 917 (*Theoph. Cont.* 389; *Geo. Mon. Cont.* 881).

⁵ R. JANIN, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, I. Le siège de Constantinople et le Patriarcat Oecuménique, III: Les églises et les monastères, 2nd ed. Paris 1969, 361 ff.; R. H. JENKINS and C. A. MANGO, *The Date and Significance of the Tenth Homily of Photius*. *DOP* 10 (1956) 123–40; C. MANGO, *Byzantine Architecture*. New York 1976, 196–7; G. MAJESKA, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*. Washington, D.C., 1984, 247 ff.

⁶ For recent discussion, and previous bibliography, see L. BRUBAKER, *Politics, Patronage, and Art in Ninth-Century Byzantium: The Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus in Paris* (B.N. Gr. 510). *DOP* 39 (1985) 1–14.

⁷ *Geo. Mon. Cont.* 845 (Leo Gram. 258): τοῦ βασιλέως λῶρον φορέσαντος καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ δόντος καὶ Νέαν αὐτὴν ἐπονομάσαντος. For the suggestion (based on *Theoph. Cont.* 319) that the name was a later, unofficial development, see P. ALEXANDER, *The Strength of Empire and Capital as seen through Byzantine Eyes*. *Speculum* 37 (1962) 349 (repr. in *IDEM*, *Religious and Political History and Thought in the Byzantine Empire*. London 1978).

⁸ OIKONOMIDÈS, *Listes*, *loc. cit.*

⁹ The other new churches which Basil founded within the city were all palatine or monastic, with the doubtful exception of the church of the Theotokos in the Forum of

church building erected in Constantinople since the sixth century. Moreover, it is abundantly clear that Basil was keen to advertise his reign as a period of renewal, and that the Nea was not his only building which carried the advertisement. There are the well known cases of the Kainourgion and the Neos Oikos¹⁰. Less well known, perhaps, is the fact that Basil's chief monastic foundation, St. Euphemia at Petrion, where most of his family were buried¹¹, was referred to as the Nea (Mone)¹². From about the same period we have the names Neon Palation, applied to outlying areas of the Great Palace¹³, and Neon Ktema, attested in a recently published seal¹⁴.

It is rightly emphasised that such use of the word 'new' implied *imitation* rather than *innovation*. It was a way of authenticating something new by giving it a traditional identity. Thus an emperor like Basil who convoked a church council to heal divisions in the Church was hailed as New Constantine, New Theodosius, New Marcian, and New Justinian¹⁵. By this date, Byzantine history was full of New Moses, New Pharaohs, and New Davids, and the New Rome and the New Jerusalem need no introduction.

In the specific context of the Nea Ekklesia, three points are worth making. Firstly, while the epithet *neos* did not imply novelty, it might well imply superiority, and was often, in fact, a shorthand form of rhetorical *synkrisis*: wherever the New Jerusalem was situated – in heaven, on Golgotha, or on the Bosphoros – it was by definition better than the old Jerusalem. Secondly, whether the expression was used of cities, of emperors, or of

Constantine: cf. C. MANGO, The Life of St. Andrew the Fool Reconsidered. *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi* 2 (1982) 302–3; repr. in IDEM, *Byzantium and its Image*. London 1984. It is clear from the *Vita Basilii* (Theoph. Cont. 339) that the church of the Archangels at τὰ Τζήρου/Στελερου was a pre-existing foundation, despite the information of Genesisios (edd. A. LESMUELLER-WERNER, H. THURN, Berlin/New York 1978, 80) and the Patria (ed. Th. PRÉGER, *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*. Leipzig 1907, II 225. 257. 285); cf. below, n. 60.

¹⁰ Theoph. Cont. 332. 337; cf. ALEXANDER, *loc. cit.*

¹¹ De cer. 648–9; cf. JANIN, *Églises* 127ff.

¹² Peira IX 8: ed. I. and P. ZEPOS, *Jus Graecoromanum*. Athens 1931, IV 39.

¹³ J. ΜΑΤΕΟΣ, Le Typicon de la Grande Eglise I–II (*OCA* 165–6). Rome 1962–3, I 62. 350. 386; II 143. The first of these entries, referring to the Palace of Hormisdas, clearly reflects a usage going back to the sixth century (cf. *PG* 86/1, 2317); the second, however, refers to the eastern side of the palace where most of Basil I's additions were built: cf. JANIN, *Eglises* 503; below, n. 60.

¹⁴ G. ZACOS, *Byzantine Lead Seals II*. Bern 1984, no. 184, pp. 128–9.

¹⁵ J. D. MANSI, *Conciliorum amplissima collectio* XVI 185; cf. G. PRINZING, Das Bild Justinians I. in der Überlieferung der Byzantiner vom 7. bis 15. Jahrhundert. *Fontes Minores* 7 (1986) 32–3.

Old Testament *typoi*, it tended to focus attention on Christ and on Constantine as the authors of cosmic renewal.

Thirdly, the name *Nea Ekklesia* had been used before, in contexts which would have been familiar, if not to Basil, then to the man who was the intellectual power behind his throne, the Patriarch Photios. Tiberius II's Novel of c. 580 concerning the abuses committed by the administrators of the departments (*oikiai*) of the imperial domain lists among these "the department in charge of the new churches" (τὴν τε τῶν νέων ἐκκλησιῶν προεστῶσαν οἰκίαν)¹⁶. This was, presumably, a unit which financed the building and perhaps the running costs of recent imperial religious foundations. In view of the great amount of church building sponsored by Justinian and Justin II, it is legitimate to infer that the unit had been set up by one of those emperors¹⁷. At all events, the name *nea ekklesia* clearly had associations with the imperial patronage of the sixth century – the last period of extensive church building in Constantinople before Basil's own lifetime.

One sixth-century *Nea Ekklesia* in particular is likely to have caught the attention of Basil and Photios: the church of the Theotokos in Jerusalem, completed in the 530s with the help of funds and architects supplied by Justinian¹⁸. It is most unlikely that the church still stood in the ninth century, but Photios would have known about it from the hagiographical works of Cyril of Scythopolis, if not from Procopius' *Buildings*¹⁹. Local tradition may also have kept its memory alive. Photios had close contact with the clergy of Jerusalem. This is clear not only from his precise knowledge of the layout of the church of the Holy Sepulchre²⁰, but also from the fact that delegates of the Patriarch of Jerusalem attended the Photian council of 879–80. These delegates, interestingly, came armed with letters to Photios and the emperor requesting financial aid for the churches of the

¹⁶ ZEPOS, Jus I 20; on θεῖοι οἶκοι/*domus divinae*, cf. M. KAPLAN, *Les propriétés de la couronne et de l'Église dans l'empire byzantin (Ve–VIe siècles)*. Paris 1976, 12ff.

¹⁷ Procopius, *De aedificiis* I 8, 5 and *passim*; A. M. CAMERON, *The Artistic Patronage of Justin II. Byz 50* (1980) 76ff.

¹⁸ J. WILKINSON, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*. Warminster 1977, 166; N. AVIGAD, *Discovering Jerusalem*. Oxford 1984, 229–46.

¹⁹ Proc., *De aed.* V 9; E. SCHWARTZ, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis (TU 49/2)*. Berlin 1939, 71. 175. 177. On the fate of the church, cf. WILKINSON 137. 138.

²⁰ A. PAPAPOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, Φωτίου τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τὸ περὶ τοῦ τάφου τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὑπομνημάτιον (γραφέν μεταξὺ τῶν ἐτῶν 867 καὶ 878) καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ πονημάτια. St. Petersburg 1892; tr. Wilkinson, 146; cf. BRUBAKER, *op. cit.* (above, n. 6), 10.

Holy City, and even expressing the hope that Basil would soon deliver them from the tyranny of the infidel²¹.

2. *The consecration date*

The consecration ceremony (*encaenia*) of the Nea was performed by Photios on 1 May, the fourth Sunday after Easter, in the year 880²². Thereafter, the anniversary was celebrated as one of the major events in the court ceremonial calendar²³. No other church dedication, with the significant exception of the encaenia of Constantine's mausoleum (21 May)²⁴, had ever been given such prominence. Otherwise, the only encaenia which were commemorated in comparable style were those of Constantinople itself (11 May, 330)^{24a}. It is hard to escape the suspicion that Basil deliberately timed the dedication of the Nea to fall ten days before the five hundred and fiftieth birthday of the city, on a date when the ceremony would not be overshadowed by some other religious celebration. He could, after all, easily have chosen Easter or Pentecost, just as Justinian had chosen Christmas for the dedication of Hagia Sophia. By the same token, he could have waited for the feast day of one of the church's patrons. The ceremony was thus a personal and imperial triumph for Basil, who wore his *loros* for the occasion and distributed largesse²⁵. But it was also a triumph for Photios as patriarch. By *not* performing the encaenia at Easter or Pentecost, he ensured that his own church, Hagia Sophia, remained the supreme liturgical venue for all Feasts of the Lord. Moreover, the encaenia of the Nea came barely two months after the conclusion of the synod which had thoroughly

²¹ MANSI XVII 441–4. 461. 484. These texts have not been taken into account in the recent study by S. H. GRIFFITH, Stephen of Ramlah and the Christian Kerygma in Ninth-Century Palestine. *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 36 (1985) 23–45, who asserts (p. 23) "The evidence is that between the conquest and the Byzantine reassertion of power in the area in the late tenth century, the local churches conducted their affairs largely without knowledge of events in Byzantium or in the West."

²² Ps. Sym. 692; Geo. Mon. Cont. 845; Leo Gram. 258. For the year, see JENKINS and MANGO, *op. cit.* (above, n. 5).

²³ OIKONOMIDÈS, *Listes* 215; De cer. 118ff. (VOGT I 111ff.).

²⁴ De cer. 534.

^{24a} De cer. 340–9 (VOGT II 343ff.); OIKONOMIDÈS, *Listes* 214.

²⁵ See above, n. 7. The emperor wore the *loros*, derived from the consular *trabea*, at Easter and Pentecost, and only exceptionally on other occasions. See De cer. 25–6. 62–5. 68–9. 187. 221 (VOGT I 20–1. 57–9. 62–3. 175; II 29). 591. 637–9; OIKONOMIDÈS, *Listes* 200–1; John Lydus, *De magistratibus* II 2: ed. A. BANDY, Philadelphia 1983, 84; P. GRIERSON, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection* II/1. Washington, D.C., 1968, 78–80; III/1, 1973, 120ff.

vindicated Photios' past and present position as the successor of Ignatios. He and Basil were, in effect, celebrating the success of their partnership.

3. *Dedication and architecture*

The church was dedicated to five patrons: Christ, the Theotokos, St. Nicholas, the Prophet Elijah, and one Archangel – originally Gabriel, it seems, with Michael taking his place under Leo VI²⁶. It probably therefore had five sanctuaries; it certainly had five domes²⁷. The recurrence of the number five invites us to ask whether it had any special significance. The question is obviously related to that of the church's architectural models, for it may be that the Nea copied another building, or combined the new domed cross-in-square plan with features taken from other churches. The multiple sanctuaries might point to the pilgrim basilica of St. Nicholas at Myra²⁸, or to that of the Archangel Michael at Chonai, which apparently invited comparison with the church of St. Mokios in Constantinople – a church which Basil had restored and was closely associated with the foundation of Constantinople²⁹. The five domes obviously recall the church of the Holy Apostles, also one of Basil's restorations. However, the ekphrasis of the Holy Apostles by

²⁶ The relevant sources mention *one* archangel or the other. Most mentions are of Michael, but they all date from the tenth century or later. The single mention of Gabriel (Theoph. Cont. 325) cannot be dismissed as an author's or copyist's error, because it is fully consistent with the iconography of the miniature on fol. Cv of the Par. gr. 510 (above, n. 6), which portrays Basil receiving a labarum from the Prophet Elijah and being crowned by the Archangel Gabriel: cf. I. SPATHARAKIS, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts*. Leiden 1976, 96–7. In my opinion, this picture, which was more or less contemporary with the dedication of the Nea, expresses Basil's intended relationship to the church's main patrons, and shows his clear preference for Gabriel over Michael, whom he was bound to regard with some diffidence as the heavenly patron and namesake of Michael III. By the same token, however, Leo VI – whose relations with Basil became very strained during the latter's last years – was bound to promote the cult of the Archangel Michael when, immediately after his accession, he publicly rehabilitated Michael III's memory: Theoph. Cont. 353; Ps. Sym. 700; Geo. Mon. Cont. 849; Leo Gram. 262–3.

²⁷ Theoph. Cont. 326. De cer. 117, 120–1 (VOGT I 108–9. 112) refers to a number of sanctuaries (βήματα) and to separate chapels (εὐκτήρια) for Elijah and the Archangel. Cf. J. EBERSOLT, *Le Grand Palais de Constantinople et le Livre des Cérémonies*. Paris 1910, 130ff.; MANGO, *Byzantine Architecture* 196–7. 203.

²⁸ U. PESCHLOW, *Die Architektur der Nikolaoskirche in Myra*, in: J. BORCHHARDT (ed.), *Myra. Eine lykische Metropole in antiker und byzantinischer Zeit*. Berlin 1975, 303ff.

²⁹ For the church at Chonai and St. Mokios, see Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. J.–L. VAN DIETEN. Berlin/New York 1975, 400; Michael Choniates, ed. Sp. LAMPROS, *Μιχαήλ Ἀκομινάτου τοῦ Χωνεῖατου τὰ σωζόμενα*. Athens 1879–80, repr. Groningen 1968, I 40, 11–18. The church of St. Mokios was originally founded by Constantine, and dedicated to a local saint whose martyrdom was commemorated on 11 May, the date which Constantine chose for the encaenia of Constantinople. In the ninth and tenth centuries, it was the venue for the

Constantine the Rhodian does suggest that Byzantines tended to see this church as a paradigm of the number four³⁰. In the Nea Ekklesia, there is no getting away from the number five. Without wanting to suggest that Basil and his associates were obsessed with pentadic symbolism, I think it is relevant to note that Basil erected a palace building consisting of five chambers, the Pentakoubouklon³¹, and that one of the most treasured pieces of ceremonial furniture in the main imperial throne-room, the Chrysotriklinos, was called the Pentapyrgion³². It is also worth observing that the Nea was built at a time when emperor and patriarch were greatly preoccupied with the unity of the five patriarchates of the Church in the aftermath of Iconoclasm and the Photian Schism. The Ignatian council of 869–70 had forcefully articulated the idea of an ecclesiastical pentarchy³³, and whatever Photios thought of the council, the idea was something that he and Ignatios had in common³⁴. As the Nea was going up, in the last years of Ignatios' and the first years of Photios' second patriarchates, its five gleaming domes were a visible expression of the ecumenical concord that the council of 879 was called to restore³⁵.

4. Relics

So far as we can tell, the Nea was remarkable for its almost complete lack of 'normal' Christian relics. The memorabilia recorded there by western and Russian visitors to Constantinople in the century before 1204 were all associated with Old Testament figures and with Constantine the Great³⁶.

procession of Mid-Pentecost, in which the emperor took part. See JANIN, *Eglises* 354; C. MANGO, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople (IVe–VIIe siècles)*. Paris 1985, 35.

³⁰ Ed. E. LEGRAND, *Description des œuvres d'art et de l'église des Saints Apotres de Constantinople*. REG 9 (1896) 52–5, lines 548ff.; cf. Chr. G. ANGELIDI, 'Η περιγραφή τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων ἀπὸ τὸν Κωνσταντῖνο Ρόδιο. Ἀρχιτεκτονική καὶ συμβολισμός. Σύμμεικτα 5 (1983) 91–125, esp. 117ff.

³¹ Theoph. Cont. 335; De cer. 598.

³² Also Pentakoubouklon: see OIKONOMIDÈS, *Listes* 274–5 and n. 33.

³³ MANSI XVI 82. 86; cf. F. DVORNIK, *The Photian Schism*. Cambridge 1948, 150; IDEM, *Byzantium and the Roman Primacy*, tr. E. A. QUAIN, 2nd ed. New York 1979, 101ff.

³⁴ See his letter to the Archbishop of Aquileia: ed. L. WESTERINK, *Photii epistulae et Amphilochia III*. Leipzig 1985, no. 291, p. 142; cf. p. 151.

³⁵ If the central dome was significantly larger than the others, they also symbolised the Roman primacy which Photios had acknowledged at that council: see DVORNIK, *Byzantium and the Roman Primacy* 111–3. The domes of the Nea were 'gilded' on the outside with brass plaques: Theoph. Cont. 326, 4–5.

³⁶ Anthony of Novgorod, *Kniga palomnik skazanie mest Svjatyh vo Caregrade Antojija Arhiepiskopa novgorodskogo v 1200 godu*, ed. Hr. M. LOPAREV, *Pravosl. Palest. Sbornik* 51 (1899) 19–20; K. CIGGAAR, *Une description de Constantinople traduite par un pèlerin anglais*. REB 34 (1976) 211–67; cf. JANIN, *Eglises* 362–3.

There are good indications that this represented the founder's original intention: –

(a) Only two of the objects in question, the Rod of Moses and the Cross of Constantine, can clearly be identified as later additions to the collection³⁷.

(b) Two objects in the collection were associated with two of the church's patrons, namely the sheepskin cloak of the Prophet Elijah, and the table at which Abraham had entertained the three angels in disguise. Elijah's cloak, at least, was *in situ* in the tenth century³⁸.

(c) The primary dedication of the church was to Elijah and the Archangel Gabriel. This is clear both from the evidence for its liturgical use, and from Basil's personal devotion to these two figures, strikingly illustrated in a miniature of the Par. gr. 510³⁹.

(d) Basil liked to be compared to David and Solomon⁴⁰, and asked Photios for information about David's royal unction and Solomon's wisdom⁴¹. Since, according to the 'synoptic' chronicles, Basil had a statue of Solomon buried in the foundations (or in the crypt) of the Nea⁴², it seems very likely that it was on his initiative that the church acquired the horn from which Samuel had anointed David.

(e) The Constantinian relics are fully consistent with the special relationship with Constantine the Great which Basil cultivated in various ways, most notably in burying his son Constantine (d. 3 September 879) in Constantine's mausoleum, which had not been used since the death of Anastasius⁴³.

The inescapable deduction would seem to be that although Basil included

³⁷ At the time when the Book of Ceremonies was compiled, they were kept in the palace chapels of St. Theodore and St. Stephen: De cer. 640.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 117 (VOGT I 109).

³⁹ See above, n. 26.

⁴⁰ See Photios in PG 102, 582–584; anon., probably Photios, ed. A. BRINKMANN, *Alexandri Lycopolitani contra Manichaei opinionones disputatio*. Leipzig 1895, XVII; Theoph. Cont. 335.

⁴¹ See Photios' letter to the deacon and protospatharios Theophanes, *αἰτησαμένω ὡς δῆθεν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ λύσειν ἀποριῶν, ἐκ βασιλικῆς δὲ τῆ ἀληθείας προστάγματος τὴν ἀξίωσιν πεποικηκότι*: ed. WESTERINK, *Photii epistulae et Amphilochia II*. Leipzig 1984, no. 241.

⁴² Ps. Sym. 692; Geo. Mon. Cont. 844; Leo Gram. 257; cf. МАЛЪСКА, *op. cit.* (above, n. 5) 249. Basil removed the statue from the Basilica, overlooking Hagia Sophia; cf. the interesting, if suspect, statement by Michael Glykas that the statue had been set up by Justinian, and portrayed Solomon clutching his cheek, "as one who had been outdone in the building of the New Jerusalem": Bonn ed., 498.

⁴³ See P. GRIERSON, *The Tombs and Obits of the Byzantine Emperors (337–1042)*. DOP 16 (1962) 27–8; see also the discussion of the Nea's consecration date (above, 55–6), and the

Christ, the Theotokos, and St. Nicholas in the dedication of his great new church, he devoted this primarily not to them, but to certain Old Testament *typoi* of Christ and to the imperial imitator of Christ *par excellence*. In this, the Nea stood in contrast not only to the great public churches of Constantinople, but also to the main palace chapel, Michael III's church of the Theotokos of the Pharos, which housed all the important relics of the Passion⁴⁴. The church thus offers an interesting insight into Basil's conception of his role as a pious emperor. On the one hand, it suggests a certain tendency to distance himself from the piety of his predecessor, and from the piety which was practised in the patriarchal church. It also shows a tendency to cultivate a high imperial profile, in the manner of the 'strong' emperors of the past. The concern to identify with Solomon seems to recall Justinian – at least the Justinian of the *Diegesis* of the building of Hagia Sophia, a text which, as Dagron has recently demonstrated, probably dates from the late ninth century and contains allusions to the building of the Nea⁴⁵. More particularly, however, the relics of the Nea recall the great emperors who came *after* Justinian, for the combination of Old Testament *typoi*, the Cross, and Constantine is nothing if not reminiscent of Heraclius, Leo III, and Constantine V⁴⁶. To this extent, the Nea projected an imperial image which, in recent history, had become more characteristic of iconoclast than of iconophile regimes, and tended to be associated with imperial dominance in church affairs.

On the other hand, the character of the Nea was not incompatible with Photios' ideal of a triumphant Orthodox Church under the direction of a strong, active patriarch⁴⁷. Basil's selection of relics for his foundation may not have been entirely voluntary: the legend that an emperor Basil tried, and failed, to have the body of St. Nicholas removed from Myra to Constantinople, might indicate that the Nea was not allowed to fulfil all its founder's ambitions⁴⁸. Moreover, by identifying himself with David, Solomon, the

mentions of churches which Basil dedicated to St. Constantine: Theoph. Cont. 337; Ps. Sym. 693; Geo. Mon. Cont. 846; Leo Gram. 259; JANIN, *Églises* 295–6.

⁴⁴ JANIN, *Églises* 235.

⁴⁵ G. DAGRON, Constantinople imaginaire. *Études sur le recueil des Patria*. Paris 1984, chapters 6–7, esp. pp. 265–9. 298–309.

⁴⁶ A. M. CAMERON, Images of Authority: Elites and Icons in Late Sixth-Century Byzantium. *Past and Present* 84 (1979) 21–2; J. MOORHEAD, Iconoclasm, the Cross and the Imperial Image. *Byz* 55 (1985) 165–79.

⁴⁷ See A. SCHMINCK, 'Rota tu volubilis'. Kaisermacht und Patriarchenmacht in Mosaiken, in: Cupido Legum, edd. L. BURGMANN, M.-Th. FÖGEN, A. SCHMINCK. Frankfurt 1985, 211 ff.

⁴⁸ See N. P. ŠEVČENKO, The Life of Saint Nicholas in Byzantine Art. Turin 1983, 21–2.

Archangel Gabriel, and Constantine, Basil was effectively allowing the patriarch to take pride of place as the living icon of Christ – exactly as envisaged by Photios in the so-called Epanagoge⁴⁹. And by making the Nea a shrine of Judaic and Constantinian traditions, Basil was championing the local Church in respect of two groups of outsiders who claimed these traditions for themselves, and thereby compromised Constantinople's role as the New Rome and the New Jerusalem of the New Israel. One group consisted of the Frankish and Roman clergy who had competed for the conversion of the Slavs, and had anointed Charlemagne and his successors⁵⁰. The other group was the Jews, whom Photios regarded as the spiritual ancestors of the iconoclasts⁵¹, and whose continued existence as a religious minority within the Christian empire looked increasingly anomalous now that Iconoclasm and the Paulician heresy were well on the way to being eradicated. Basil I, we may recall, made strenuous efforts to convert the Jews to Christianity, perhaps in anticipation of Christ's Second Coming⁵². Seen in the light of his conversion policy, the Nea can perhaps be thought of as a Temple in which the new converts, sponsored at baptism by the court hierarchy, were to be led to the full worship of Christ through the veneration of their own kings, prophets, and sacred objects⁵³.

⁴⁹ SCHMINCK, *op. cit.* 213, with reference to Ep. 3, 1. For the date and title of the legislation, see IDEM, *Studien zu mittelbyzantinischen Rechtsbüchern*. Frankfurt 1986, 1–15. 63ff.

⁵⁰ See, in general, F. DVORNIK, *Les Slaves, Byzance et Rome au IXe siècle*. Paris 1926; W. ULLMANN, *The Carolingian Renaissance and the Idea of Kingship*. London 1969, esp. 162–4.

⁵¹ Homily 17, 3: tr. C. MANGO, *The Homilies of Photius*. Cambridge, Ma. 1958, 290–1; *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, I, edd. B. LAOURDAS and L. WESTERINK, Leipzig 1983, 14.

⁵² A. SHARF, *Byzantine Jewry from Justinian to the Fourth Crusade*. London 1971, 82ff.; DAGRON, *Constantinople imaginaire* 307ff. The conversion of the Jews had been attempted by Heraclius in a context of “deliberately apocalyptic” behaviour: SHARF 43; cf. C. MANGO, *Byzantium. The Empire of New Rome*. London 1980, 205; IDEM, *Deux études sur Byzance et la Perse Sassanide*. *TM* 9 (1986) 117. According to one calculation, the world was due to end in 880: E. v. DOBSCHÜTZ, *Coislinianus* 296. *BZ* 12 (1903) 550ff.

⁵³ As DAGRON remarks (*op. cit.* 301), the mentions of Jewish sacred objects in Constantinople by authors who themselves, at least, believed the relics to be genuine, “devraient conduire à rouvrir le dossier du trésor du Temple de Salomon”. According to Procopius (*Wars* IV 9, 5ff.), the Temple treasures which Titus had removed from Jerusalem found their way back there under Justinian, who, after capturing them from the Vandals, distributed them among the churches of the city. One beneficiary was presumably his own church of the Nea, which again raises the question of a ‘Jerusalem connection’ for the Nea in Constantinople (see above, 54–5).

5. *Status*

This leads us, finally, to the question of the church's status. Modern authorities tend to assume that the Nea was a palace church, and to stress its private, restricted character⁵⁴. However, it is necessary to qualify this judgment, and the bald statement of the *Vita Basilii*, on which it is based, that the Nea was 'in the palace itself' (κατ' αὐτὰς τὰς βασιλείους ἀλλὰς)⁵⁵. It is surely significant that the *Vita* describes the Nea *before* describing Basil's additions to the palace that were inaccessible to the general public. Liutprand of Cremona describes the church as standing "next to the palace, to the east" (*iusta palatium orientem versus*)⁵⁶. The Nea had its own financial endowment, administered by its own *oikonomos*⁵⁷, and its staff were as distinct from the palatine clergy as they were from the patriarchal clergy of the Great Church: they ranked separately on ceremonial occasions, for which they were specially admitted to the palace by a side entrance⁵⁸. In the tenth century, the Nea was the venue for three major ceremonies in the religious life of the Church of Constantinople: the anniversary of its own dedication on 1 May, which we have discussed, and the feasts of its two main patrons, the Prophet Elijah (20 July), and the Archangel Gabriel and/or Michael (8 November). The case of the Prophet Elijah is particularly instructive, because Basil also constructed a magnificent palace oratory in the Prophet's name⁵⁹, yet the Nea became the repository of his relic and the main focus of his cult, which would seem to suggest that the churches were of different status⁶⁰.

To point out that the Nea was not a palace chapel is not to deny that it was a very personal foundation with a pronounced dynastic character. The ceremonies celebrated there expiated and consecrated Basil's brutal rise to power by giving constitutional significance to his piety and to his (and, later, Leo's) special relationship with the fiery prophet and the leaders of the heavenly host⁶¹. All these ceremonies included a pause to light candles

⁵⁴ See, e.g., VOGT, *Le Livre des Cérémonies, Commentaire*, I 136: "C'était la plus magnifique église du palais, mais une église privée, réservée à l'empereur et à la Cour, non au public"; MANGO, *Byzantine Architecture, loc. cit.*

⁵⁵ Theoph. Cont. 325.

⁵⁶ Antapodosis, *loc. cit.* (above, n. 1).

⁵⁷ Theoph. Cont. 326. 328; ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΕΣ, *Listes* 271.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 185; De cer. 549; cf. 117. 119 (VOGT I 108. 111).

⁵⁹ Theoph. Cont. 329; JANIN, *Églises* 136-7.

⁶⁰ On this whole complicated question, see my note: Basil I, Leo VI, and the Feast of the Prophet Elijah (to appear in *JÖB* 38).

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

before Basil's icon in the church. As a dynastic monument, the Nea seems to inaugurate the trend towards a more private and individualistic piety which was to characterise imperial religious patronage in the following centuries⁶². Like the long series of pious foundations (εὐαγγεῖς οἴκοι) beginning with the Myrelaion of Romanos I and culminating in the Pantokrator of John II⁶³, the Nea embodied a much more personal and possessive form of devotion than was possible in the great public churches of Constantinople or in the oratories of the Great Palace. But there the similarity ends. Unlike most of those later foundations, and, equally, unlike most religious foundations made by the emperor's subjects, the Nea was not a burial place, either for the emperor or for his family, nor did it serve a monastic community⁶⁴. The difference between the Nea and foundations of this sort becomes clear when we recall that Basil did found a monastery where most of his family were buried. This foundation, St. Euphemia at Petrion, was the true precursor of the Myrelaion – a fact attested by the way in which the Peira names the Petrion with the Myrelaion as the εὐαγγεῖς οἴκοι *par excellence*⁶⁵. If the Nea had a successor, this was the Chalke church founded by Romanos I and enlarged by John I, with the important difference that the latter refounded the Chalke with the intention of being buried there⁶⁶.

Any way we look at the Nea, its status appears ambivalent. To get the full measure of its ambivalence, we have to set it in the context of the buildings and institutions with which it was associated. These were, primarily, the various annexes described in the *Vita Basilii*: two courtyards with fountains to the west; two galleries leading eastwards from the north and south sides to the imperial polo-ground, the Tzykanisterion; the garden (Mesokepion) between these galleries; and, last but not least, the office and treasury of the church's *oikonomos*. Now this office, or *oikonomeion*, stood on the *far* side of the Tzykanisterion from the church, a fact which invites the conclusion that the whole complex, *including* the Tzykanisterion, was conceived as a single ensemble. Three further details have to be fitted into the

⁶² C. MANGO, Les monuments de l'architecture du XI^e siècle et leur signification historique et sociale. *TM* 6 (1976) 351–65, esp. 353ff.; IDEM, *Byz. Architecture* 197ff.; R. CORMACK, *Writing in Gold*. Byzantine Society and its Icons. London 1985, 179ff.

⁶³ On εὐαγγεῖς οἴκοι, see N. OIKONOMIDÈS, L'évolution de l'organisation administrative de l'empire byzantin au XI^e siècle (1025–1118). *TM* 6 (1976) 138–40.

⁶⁴ At least, not in the period that concerns us. The two pieces of evidence to the contrary both date from the fourteenth century: the 'Wanderer' of Stephen of Novgorod (ed. МАЈЕСКА 37); and manuscript B (Mon. gr. 450) of the History of Niketas Choniates, whose recent editor rightly regards μονή as an interpolation (VAN DIETEN 443).

⁶⁵ Peira XV 12; ΖΕΠΟΣ, Jus IV 53. See also *ibid.* I 371.

⁶⁶ C. MANGO, *The Brazen House*. Copenhagen 1959, 149ff.

picture: firstly, the reference in a lemma of the Palatine Anthology to a school of the Nea⁶⁷; secondly, the existence next to the *oikonomieion* of a large, exotic, and vaguely antique-looking bath house which, I have argued elsewhere, was built by Leo VI⁶⁸; thirdly, the presence, beside the Tzykanisterion, of statues brought from various public places⁶⁹. The combination of a church, an open arena for equestrian games (and, perhaps, for the execution of malefactors)⁷⁰, a bath house, outdoor statues, and a school, is not unfamiliar. It had already existed on the other side of the Great Palace, in the monumental complex at the heart of Byzantine public life, comprising the Hippodrome, the Basilica, the Zeuxippos, and the Great Church. Not for nothing was Basil I's foundation called the Nea Megale Ekklesia. Like the whole phenomenon of the 'Macedonian Renaissance', of which it was the most splendid physical manifestation, it marked as much the end as the beginning of an era.

ADDITIONAL NOTE

No discussion of the Nea would be complete without a consideration of the 'imperial church' described by the Arab prisoner and traveller Harun-ibn-Yahya in his description of Constantinople, which he visited in Basil I's reign⁷¹. According to his account, the church lay inside the circuit wall of the Palace, across a courtyard which was entered from the 'Sea Gate', and to the left of a curtained doorway leading to the main palace buildings. It had ten doors, four of gold and six of silver. The imperial box, the sanctuary screen, the altar, ceilings and vaults were all of impressive dimensions and precious materials. There were four courtyards. In the eastern courtyard was a fountain, which consisted of a marble column supporting a marble basin covered by a lead cupola, which in turn was surmounted by twelve columns. These supported a silver cupola and terminated in spouts representing a lamb, a bull, a cock, a lion, a lioness, a wolf, a partridge, a peacock, a horse, an elephant, and an angel. In the same courtyard was a cistern

⁶⁷ See above, n. 4.

⁶⁸ The Bath of Leo the Wise and the "Macedonian Renaissance" Revisited: Topography, Iconography, Ceremonial, Ideology. *DOP* 42 (1988, forthcoming).

⁶⁹ See Parastaseis, 85: A. CAMERON and J. HERRIN, Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century: the Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai. Leiden 1984, 162-3; Patria, ed. PREGIER, II 195. 279-80.

⁷⁰ That the Tzykanisterion was used for burning heretics can be inferred from Theoph. Cont. 438, considered in the light of Anna Comnena, Alexiad XV 4: ed. B. LEIB III 225.

⁷¹ A. VASILIEV, Harun-ibn-Yahya and his Description of Constantinople. *SK* 5 (1932) 149-63, esp. 156-7.

which supplied the fountain with water, or, on feast days, spiced and honeyed wine.

Vasiliev unhesitatingly identified Harun's 'imperial church' with the Nea, without any close analysis of the description or discussion of possible alternatives. The description certainly does not bear detailed comparison with that of the Nea by Constantine Porphyrogenitus. The only points of apparent resemblance are the location, the multiple courtyards, and the zoomorphic spouts; moreover, the resemblance is one of general impressions rather than one of exact particulars.

However, when allowance is made for the greater inaccuracy, on Harun's part, of an account which must have been composed from memory, it is possible to accept that the two authors are describing the same building, Harun's mistake being to confuse east and west, and to conflate the features of two fountains – one with columns and the other with zoomorphic spouts. Besides, it is a striking coincidence that both he and Constantine Porphyrogenitus write of a fountain flowing with festive wine⁷².

If the identification with the Nea is accepted, Harun's account does suggest that Basil's church was rather more inside than outside the Palace. However, since the identification is not entirely certain – the reference might be to the Pharos church⁷³ – and since Harun's topographical information may be as confused as some of his other details, it would be unwise to base any arguments on this information – which does not, in any case, contradict my basic point about the ambivalent status of the Nea.

⁷² Although, it should be noted, such extravagance had its precedents in court festivities associated with other fountains: *Theoph. Cont.* 142.

⁷³ Especially since a date before 880 is admissible on chronological criteria other than that of the Nea's dedication, which is the main basis of Vasiliev's argument for a date of 881–6 (pp. 149–52).

BASIL I, LEO VI,
AND THE FEAST OF THE PROPHET ELIJAH*

Among the major changes in Byzantine public and court ceremonial instituted by the Macedonian emperors, one of the most striking is the increased emphasis they placed on the feast of the prophet Elijah (20 July), whom both Basil I and Leo VI venerated as their heavenly patron.¹ The new order of ceremony that emerged is documented by the treatise of Philotheos (899), and, in fuller processional detail, by Constantine Porphyrogenitus' *Book of Ceremonies*.² The feast began with a vespers service the previous evening in the palace church of the Theotokos of the Pharos, and resumed at dawn with an assembly in the main palace throne room, the Chrysotriklinos. From here, the senate proceeded directly to the Nea Ekklesia, while the emperors, joined by the patriarch, proceeded there via the Pharos church and the palatine chapel of Elijah.³ After the celebration of the liturgy, the emperors returned to the Chrysotriklinos for a banquet with the patriarch, the metropolitans, and selected secular dignitaries.

A scholion to the description in the *Book of Ceremonies* states that the feast was 'made new' (ἐκαινοουργήθη) under Basil I, from which it is reasonable to suppose that the order of ceremony described above was instituted after the grand opening of the Nea Ekklesia on 1 May 880. This supposition is complicated, however, by the neglected evidence of a far from negligible

* This note is meant to be read in conjunction with my article 'Observations on the Nea Ekklesia of Basil I' (*JÖB* 37 [1987] 51–64), which should be consulted for all references to the Nea, and for full bibliographical details of works cited here in brief. In connection with that article, it should also be noted that a strong case has been made for dating Harun-ibn-Yahya's visit to Constantinople to 912–3. This increases the likelihood that the 'imperial church' he describes is the Nea: see *ibid.* 63–4; G. OSTROGORSKY, *SK* 5 (1932) 251–7; H. GRÉGOIRE, *Byz* 7 (1932) 666–73.

¹ For Basil, see Gy. MORAVCSIK, *Sagen und Legenden über Kaiser Basileios I.* *DOP* 15 (1961) 91. For Leo: OIKONOMIDÈS, *Listes de préséance*, 214–9 and references; Λέοντος τοῦ Σοφοῦ πανηγυρικοὶ λόγοι, ed. ΑΚΑΚΙΟΣ, Athens 1868, 89, 259ff.

² Philotheos, ed. OIKONOMIDÈS, *loc. cit.*; De cer., 114–8 (VOGT, I, 106–9).

³ This was not the main liturgical venue, pace M. McCORMICK, *Eternal Victory*. Cambridge 1986, 208.

source. The surviving *Vita* of Leo VI's sainted first wife Theophano, written during Leo's reign by the son of an imperial official, has a fairly detailed account of Leo's 'miraculous' return to favour with Basil on Elijah's day 886.⁴ In token of their reconciliation, Basil and Leo appeared together in the great procession of the feast. This procession took place outside the palace, and was witnessed by crowds so large that Basil was initially terrified by their noisy welcome for Leo. The emperors proceeded from a church of the 'Bodiless' Angels (Asomatoi) to a 'great church' dedicated to the prophet. After entering the sanctuary and attending the liturgy, the emperors 'returned back up' to the Palace to entertain their dignitaries.

It is clear that the procedure outlined here was different from that described in the ceremonial treatises. But how different? The 'great church' where the liturgy was celebrated could have been the Nea. If so, the church of the Asomatoi can readily be identified with the church of the Archangels that Basil had restored early in his reign, and where he had received his first coronation at the hands of the patriarch Ignatios. The indications are that this church was situated just outside, or on the edge of, the Great Palace, on the same side as the Nea, but on a higher level.⁵

This identification, however, runs into two objections. Firstly, a processional route located in the palace area is unlikely to have been lined by uncontrollable crowds. We can, of course, explain these away as a rhetorical exaggeration for the ranks of senators, guards of honour, palatine personnel, and deme representatives who had a ceremonial role within the palace precinct.⁶ Such an explanation finds some support from Philotheos, who can even describe the procession from the Pharos church to the Nea as *demosia*.⁷ Yet before we dismiss the literal evidence of our source, we should perhaps look for an explanation that better accords with it. One possibility, which certainly deserves consideration, is that the processional route to the Nea, and the Nea itself, were less exclusively palatine under Basil than they later became. But this brings us to the second objection: it is strange that the Nea is not identified as such, or by reference to one or more of its other patrons, since it was not dedicated to Elijah alone. We

⁴ Ed. E. KURTZ, *Zwei griechische Texte über die Hl. Theophano, die Gemahlin Kaiser Leos VI. Zap. imp. akad. ist.-philol. otdel*, III/2 (St. Petersburg 1898) 13.

⁵ Genesisios, ed. LESMUELLER-WERNER-THURN, 80. I would identify this church both with the one at τὰ Τζήρου/Στείρου (see JANIN, *Églises*, 345-6, who rightly, I think, equates it with that ἐν τοῖς Σινάτορος) and with the church of the Archangels in the *Neon Palation* (MATEOS, *Typicon*, II, 143).

⁶ See, e.g., *De cer.*, 9ff. (VOGT, I, 6ff.).

⁷ Ed. OIKONOMIDÈS, *Listes*, 217.

should therefore consider the further possibility that the reference is to the Prophet's old shrine at Petrion on the Golden Horn.⁸ This interpretation has the disadvantage that it fails to locate or identify the church of the Asomatoi.⁹ On the other hand, it has several points in its favour:

1. The *Patria* characterise the church of Elijah at Petrion as a *megas naos*.¹⁰
2. Basil I is known to have restored this church, and it stood close to his main monastic foundation.¹¹
3. The Typikon of the Great Church names it first of the two churches where the Prophet's *synaxis* was held.¹² Although the text adds that in the Nea, "a more splendid festival is celebrated, with the emperor and senate and patriarch assembling there", the addition is itself a fairly good indication that the *propheteion* at Petrion had been the sole venue for the *synaxis* before the Nea was completed.
4. The *Vita* of Theophano later mentions the feast and the church of Elijah in a different context which seems to indicate that this church was reached from the Holy Apostles by a side-street passing close to the cistern of Bonos: in other words, bearing north-east towards the Golden Horn rather than south-east towards the Great Palace.¹³

There is some reason to believe, then, that in 886 Basil and Leo celebrated Elijah's day at the Prophet's old church at Petrion, just as it had been celebrated before the opening of the Nea in 880. It is possible, of course, that Basil reverted exceptionally to the old order of ceremony so as to show his son to the public. If so, however, we should expect the *Vita* of Theophano to make the most of the fact, instead of giving the impression that Leo's appearance was the only surprise. Thus, whatever the liturgical venue attended by the emperors in 886, it was surely the *expected* one. This means that the order of ceremony prescribed by Philotheos and Constantine Porphyrogenitus, and the institution of a separate court *synaxis* at the Nea, must have been the work of Leo VI, and should be taken to represent his,

⁸ JANIN, *Églises*.

⁹ See *ibid.*, 54, for the suggestion that this was an otherwise unidentified building in the vicinity of the Holy Apostles.

¹⁰ PRÉGER, *Scriptores*, II, 240. This and the attribution of the original structure to Zeno (474–91) suggest that it was a long basilica rather than a domed cruciform building of the ninth-century type represented by the Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii, which a recent study proposes to identify with Elijah's propheteion (see T. F. MATHEWS and E. J. W. HAWKINS, *DOP* 39 (1985) 134), but which is more likely to correspond to the convent church of St. Euphemia (see next note).

¹¹ See 'Observations on the Nea', n. 11.

¹² MATEOS, *Typicon*, I, 346.

¹³ Ed. KURTZ, 17; cf. MAJESKA, *Russian Travelers*, 298.

more than Basil's, personal devotion to Elijah. Leo certainly made no secret of his gratitude to the Prophet for deliverance from the injustice done to him by Basil. He composed the dismissal hymn sung at the vespers service, and extended the festivities for three days, instituting games for the populace and banquets for the court¹⁴. The institution of games at which the emperor showed himself to his people in the hippodrome was perhaps meant partly to make up for his withdrawal from the public liturgical procession.

Whether or not Leo was responsible for enhancing the liturgical importance of the Nea Ekklesia on 20 July, he certainly enhanced the importance of the palace church of the Pharos. In this connection, it is worth observing that Leo probably transferred the celebration of imperial weddings to the Pharos from the chapel of St. Stephen, and issued a *nomisma* portraying the Virgin of the Pharos on the obverse.¹⁵ There is also reason to think that under him Michael replaced Gabriel as the principal archangelic patron of the Nea. All this and the fact that one of Leo's first acts as emperor was to rehabilitate the memory of Michael III add to the suggestion, recently challenged but not yet totally disproved, that Michael III had been Leo's real father.¹⁶ In conclusion, the problems raised in this short note show that we cannot be too careful in reading the official literature of the Macedonian dynasty – not only when it blackens the dynasty which Basil I overthrew, but equally when it insists on the essential continuity of the dynastic succession which Basil established.

¹⁴ OIKONOMIDÈS, *loc. cit.*

¹⁵ De cer., 201 (VOGT, II, 10; cf. *ibid.*, Commentaire, II, 14–15); Jane Timken MATTHEWS, *The Pantokrator, Title and Image* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, New York University 1976), 157–9, 161.

¹⁶ The case for Michael's paternity was made by C. MANGO, *Eudocia Ingerina, the Normans, and the Macedonian Dynasty*. *ZRVI* 14–15 (1973) 22ff.; repr. in: *Byzantium and its Image*. *Contra*: E. KISLINGER, *Eudokia Ingerina, Basileios I. und Michael III.* *JÖB* 33 (1983) 119–36.

The Evergetis fountain in the early thirteenth century: an *ekphrasis* of the paintings in the cupola

Paul Magdalino

with an additional note by Lyn Rodley

The physical appearance of the original Evergetis foundation can only be reconstructed from the analogy of other, better documented or better preserved, monastic buildings. But one external feature of the monastery as it appeared in the early thirteenth century, when it was attached to Montecassino and St Sava saw it, can be visualised thanks to a text which, although published early this century with a sound scholarly commentary, seems to have passed unnoticed by Janin and subsequent historians. This is a description of the structure covering the fountain that stood in the monastery courtyard. To be exact, the text, written by the well-known south Italian Greek writer Nicholas-Nektarios of Otranto, is an *ekphrasis*, that is a rhetorical celebration, of the paintings with which the artist Paul of Otranto decorated the interior surface of the cupola surmounting the fountain. The author appends to his description the text of some verses which he wrote to be inscribed there, followed by a piece of verse written in his honour by Mark, a monk in the monastery.¹

We are grateful to Michael McGann for suggesting several improvements to the translation and commentary.

¹ G.N. Sola, 'Paolo d'Otranto, pittore (sec.XIII)', *Roma e l'Oriente*, 13 (1917), 56-65, 132-146 (text at 132-134).

The author

Nicholas (c. 1155-1235) was a native of Otranto in Apulia, as he tells us in the *ekphrasis*. He entered the nearby monastery of St Nicholas at Casole, where he took the name Nektarios and eventually became abbot of the community in 1219.² One of the foremost Greek authors of southern Italy under Latin rule, he wrote theological treatises, letters and poems. He was also fluent in Latin, and his bilingualism, celebrated in the verses by Mark, involved him in the discussions between the papacy and the Greek clergy following the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204. He twice visited Constantinople as an interpreter for legates of pope Innocent III, in 1205-1207 for cardinal Benedict of S. Susanna, and in 1214-1215 for cardinal Pelagius. He returned to the east on one later occasion, probably in 1225 as an emissary for Frederick II to the court of Nicaea.³

Nicholas almost certainly visited the Evergetis on the first of these journeys, since it was cardinal Benedict who, in 1206, made the monastery a dependency of Montecassino. One can only speculate as to whether Nicholas got to know the monastery through the legate, or was himself instrumental in bringing the monastery to the legate's attention. But the *ekphrasis* was not necessarily written at this time. Indeed, the author gives two indications that it might have been written on a later occasion—perhaps on his visit in 1214-1215. One is his reference (line 2 of the translation) to seeing the fountain **again**. The other is the inclusion of two verse pieces which were apparently composed in connection with the painting before the writing of the *ekphrasis*. On the face of it, there were three stages: Nicholas first wrote his verses in praise of the artist, which were inscribed beneath the image of St Paul; Mark then responded with verses which may or

² It is not known when he became a monk. J.M. Hoeck and R.J. Loenertz, *Nikolaos-Nektarios von Otranto Abt von Casole* (Ettal, 1965), 26, suppose that it was before his first visit to Constantinople, but this supposition is based on uncertain evidence that he had changed his name to Nektarios when he visited the Evergetis (see n. 17 below).

³ See in general Hoeck and Loenertz, *Nikolaos-Nektarios* with the entry in *ODB*, II, 1470-1471.

may not have been inscribed beside the first set; finally, Nicholas/Nektarios incorporated both sets of verses in his *ekphrasis*. Unfortunately, we are given no idea of the time-span involved.

The artist

Although the *ekphrasis* refers to Paul as deceased, it gives the impression that the paintings had been executed quite recently. It is thus very likely, as Sola suggested, that Paul was identical with the painter Paul mentioned by the Russian traveller Anthony of Novgorod, who visited Constantinople in 1200. At Hagia Sophia, according to Anthony,

there, too, is a baptistry with water, and in it is painted the baptism of Christ by John in the Jordan together with the (whole) story: namely, how John taught the people and how small children and men cast themselves into the Jordan. All of this was painted by the artist Paul in my lifetime, and there is no painting like this elsewhere.⁴

Not only does the date fit the chronology suggested by Nicholas's *ekphrasis*, but there are obvious similarities between the two cycles of paintings: both depicted the Baptism of Christ, and both decorated the interior surfaces of domed structures covering water. Nicholas's remark, in the second line of his verse inscription, that 'only one Paul exists among painters', strengthens the supposition that he and Anthony are referring to the same artist.

The text and its subject

The *ekphrasis* survives in one manuscript, Laur. X plut. V, a miscellany probably copied at Casole, and consisting mainly of pieces of occasional verse by Nicholas-Nektarios and other authors.⁵ Although the text was clearly added as an afterthought,

⁴ I quote from the translation by C. Mango, *The art of the Byzantine empire*, 312-1453 (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1972), 237.

⁵ See the description by J.N. Sola, 'De codice Laurentiano plutei V', *BZ*, 20 (1911), 373-383.

being scrawled by a different hand in the margins of folios 215v-220v, there can be no doubt as to the authorship.

The work exhibits the standard hallmarks of the rhetorical genre in which it is cast: in common with other *ekphraseis* of paintings, it praises the painter for producing images which are more lifelike than nature, and it dramatises the images for the viewer. Only a close comparison of every detail of every image described with surviving works of art, and with textual exegeses of the relevant biblical scenes involved, can show how far the author is reflecting what others would have seen and understood, as opposed to imposing his own emphasis. The immediate impression, however, is of a precise and straightforward description which records what could be seen, and what it meant, with remarkably little subjective distortion.

Since there is not the slightest allusion to mosaic work, it can probably be assumed that the medium of depiction was fresco. The cycle was evidently divided into three zones. In the centre of the cupola was a blue circle, representing heaven, occupied by the forms of angels, drawn without colour and three-dimensionality. Below this inner circle was a band of narrative scenes depicting the Exodus from Egypt. The lowest and outermost zone showed Christ's Baptism along with other baptismal and aquatic scenes.

The disposition of the scenes within each of the lower zones is hard to envisage, and so is the alignment of the zones relative to each other. In the upper zone, was the image at the start of the cycle, that of Moses dividing the Red Sea, juxtaposed with the image of Moses on Mt Sinai which apparently came at the end? Was the figure of Christ in the lower zone aligned vertically with the image above of the 'epiphany' of God to Moses on Sinai? Did the figures of the prophets form a separate circle 'around', and hence below, the scenes of Christ's baptism, or were they on the same horizontal level? It is obvious that the parting of the Red Sea is depicted as an Old Testament prefiguration of the Baptism, but why is it placed, hierarchically, above the New Testament scene, between heaven and the Incarnate Christ? And why does the author not explain or comment on this inversion which he, as one who later polemicised against the Jews, cannot have considered

entirely self-explanatory? Another question concerns the image of St Paul, at whose feet Nicholas's verses were inscribed: where was this situated and was it paired with an icon of St Peter? I hope that in making the evidence more widely known I may stimulate some attempt to solve these, and other, problems.

The *phiale*: an additional note by Lyn Rodley

The painter

It is of interest that Paul of Otranto, a painter from Italy, worked at a monastery near Constantinople. He may have come there in the wake of the Latin occupation, possibly at the instigation of the monastery of Montecassino, following its acquisition of the Evergetis monastery as a dependency. In this case the work would have been very recently completed when Nicholas saw it on his first visit, between 1205 and 1207. Alternatively, Paul of Otranto may have been settled in Constantinople earlier than this, a notion consistent with identifying him with the 'Paul' who worked on the baptistery of Hagia Sophia, since this decoration was seen by Anthony of Novgorod in 1200, and must therefore have been the work of a painter active in Constantinople well before the Latin occupation. (That the two Pauls were one and the same is not certain, however: similarity between the baptistery and *phiale* decorations may reflect standard programmatic elements in similar projects undertaken by two painters both named Paul).⁶

The structure of the *phiale*

The *ekphrasis* describes a font on a pedestal, below a domed structure on eight columns, with a leaded outer covering. This sounds very like the *phiale* of 1060 in the Great Lavra of Mt Athos, which has six of its eight inter-columnar openings partly closed by decorated stone slabs (in two groups of three, leaving two openings to the font, opposite one another; figures 43.1 and 43.2

⁶ But see also above, 434.

offer a hypothetical reconstruction using the Great Lavra *phiale* as a model).⁷

Painted decoration

The interior surface of the *phiale* dome appears to have been divided into concentric bands around a circular field at the summit, a common device for dome decoration (fig. 43.3). At the summit (a) were angels against a blue ground; possibly these were painted in monochrome, which was sometimes used for angels, particularly in late Byzantine work (for example, the greyish-blue angels of the Dormition of the Virgin at the Chora monastery, of 1321).⁸ On the other hand, 'in faint appearance' may simply be a play on words, referring to the incorporeal nature of angels.

The Old Testament subjects in the first band below this (b) are familiar from other Byzantine art: Moses and the Israelites crossing the Red Sea, with the pillar of fire and drowning Egyptians, the dancing maidens, and Moses receiving the tablets of the law, with the Israelites waiting at the foot of Mt Sinai, all fit the imagery seen, for example, in the twelfth-century Smyrna Octateuch.⁹

The Baptism of Christ in the next band down (c) has, of course, many examples in Byzantine art, but the 'sea fleeing and lying still over the sea monster, who looks fierce and savage' is less easy to match. 'The sea fleeing' seems to refer to the Red Sea, parting to allow the Israelites to cross, but the image is described as if it were part of the 'Baptism' band. It may be that Nicholas is not being entirely systematic in his description, and has returned to the upper band for this detail, but more probably the 'sea' is in fact the Jordan of the Baptism sequence. Evidently the Baptism of Christ was part of an extended 'Baptism' subject, in which many others are baptised by John, so the river may have been painted right around the field. In either context, the monster might simply be

⁷ A.K. Orlandos, *Μοναστηριακή ἀρχιτεκτονική*, 2nd ed. (Athens, 1958), 111, figs. 122, 123.

⁸ P.A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, II (New York, 1966), plates 322-327.

⁹ D.C. Hesselning, *Minatures de l'Octateuch grec de Smyrne* (Leiden, 1909), plates 58-59.

the most conspicuous of a variety of aquatic creatures represented in the water.

The fish, birds, and prophets of the *ekphrasis* perhaps belonged to a fourth area (d) which may have resembled the lowest decorative field in the orthodox baptistery in Ravenna. This incorporates the spandrels of niches and so has a straight upper border and arched lower border; in it, figures probably representing prophets are placed in oval medallions in the spandrels, against a background of swirling acanthus that fills the rest of the field.¹⁰ If the structure of the Evergetis *phiale* was of the Great Lavra type, then the lowest decorative band would have had essentially the same form and its prophets may have occupied similar spandrel positions, but against a background of birds and aquatic subjects rather than acanthus.

The Evergetis prophets 'point to the...divine mystery' and so they perhaps followed the convention seen in the sixth-century Rossano gospels, where prophets holding scrolls inscribed with their prophecies point upwards to the New Testament events which they foretold, which are depicted above them.¹¹

Location of the 'Paul' inscription

Nicholas's verse in praise of Paul the painter was evidently added to an image of Paul the apostle in the *phiale* decoration, but no specific location is given for it. Assuming again a structure similar to that of the Great Lavra *phiale*, the most likely arrangement is that figures (or busts) of apostles and other saints were placed on the soffits of the eight arches, probably with Saints Peter and Paul facing one another on the soffit of whichever of the two openings formed the main entrance to the *phiale*.

¹⁰ S. Kostoff, *The Orthodox Baptistery of Ravenna* (Newhaven and London, 1965), 62-63, figs. 38-39.

¹¹ A. Haseloff, *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1898), plates i-x.

General context of the *phiale* programme

The Evergetis *phiale* programme as a whole has some features in common with the decoration of the two Ravenna baptisteries (concentric arrangement, Baptism of Christ, prophets and apostles) and there are also parallels with schemes in Italian baptistery decorations of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries which combine Old and New Testament subjects. The baptistery of Padua cathedral (1376-78), for example, has Christ with saints and angels at the summit of the dome, an Old Testament sequence (Creation to the Betrayal of Joseph) in the first band below, evangelists and prophets in pendentives, and cycles of John the Evangelist and John the Baptist (with the Baptism of Christ) on the walls below.¹² The programme of the Florence baptistery (1271 to c. 1325) has angels at the summit, and, in bands below, Old and New Testament sequences (including the Life of John the Baptist) and a Last Judgement.¹³

Byzantine architecture abandoned the free-standing baptistery after the sixth century, siting the baptismal font instead in the church narthex, a development that accompanies the displacement of the basilica by the inscribed cross as the standard church type. This being so, the generic similarity of the Evergetis *phiale* and the later Italian baptisteries may indicate that Paul of Otranto brought not only his skills, but an Italian decorative tradition (albeit with early Byzantine roots) to the Evergetis monastery. (And, if it *was* he, to the baptistery of Hagia Sophia too? Perhaps there is more than mere literary convention to Anthony of Novgorod's assertion that 'there is no painting like this elsewhere'.)

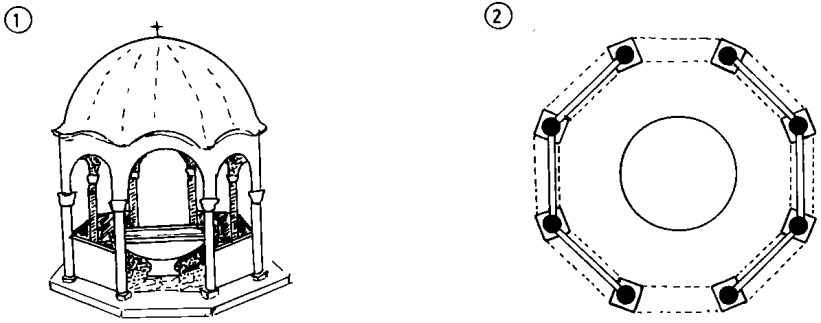
The more prosaic likelihood, however, is that although free-standing domed baptisteries were no longer being built, middle-Byzantine artists continued to execute baptistery dome programmes in old baptisteries that remained in use and whose decoration therefore needed periodical renewal (like the baptistery

¹² *Siena, Florence and Padua. Art, society and religion, 1280-1400*, II, ed. D. Norman (New Haven and London, 1995), 252-253, plates 301-302.

¹³ J. White, *Art and architecture in Italy, 1250-1400* (Harmondsworth, 1966), 130-131, plate 145.

PAUL MAGDALINO with LYN RODLEY

of Hagia Sophia, indeed). The baptistery dome tradition would also have been transferred, with probably only slight iconographical adjustments for the partial change of function, to *phiale* domes like that of the Evergetis monastery. Parallels with thirteenth-/fourteenth-century Italy would thus be explained as a matter of common heritage rather than the thirteenth-century import of an Italian model.



Figures 43.1 and 43.2 Reconstruction of the *phiale*

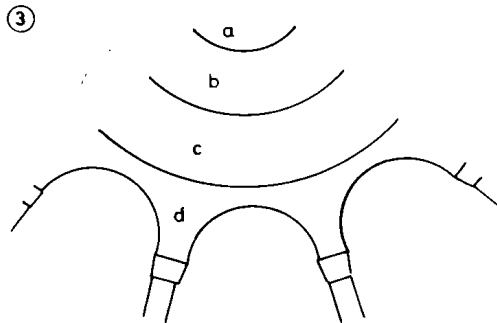


Figure 43.3 Possible arrangement of dome decoration of the *phiale*

Text and translation

Text

Ἀπήλθόν ποτε εἰς τ<ήν> τῆς Εὐεργέτιδος θείαν μονὴν τὴν ἔξω πεφυκυῖαν τῆς πόλ<ε>ως, ἐν ἣ ἔθεασάμην αὐθις τὸ τῆς φιάλης ἐκείνης ἔργον ἐξάιρετον Παύλου ἐκείνου τοῦ μακαρίου τοῦ Ὑδρουντίνου συμπολίτου ἡμῶν, ἔργον ὅπερ ἡ οἰκουμένη πᾶσα οὐ κέκτηται, ὃ καὶ περιφραστικῶς διηγῆσομαι.

Ἴσταται γὰρ τῇ αὐτῇ τῆς μονῆς φιάλη μικρὸν εἰς ὕψο<ς> ἐπὶ κίονα αἰρομένη, ἀνωθ<εν> δὲ ταύτης στέγη ὑπὸ ὀκτῶ κίωνων αἰρομένη κεραμίδεσι μολυβδίναι<ς> ἐσκέπασται, ἣ οὐ<ρα>νὸς ἄλλο<ς> ἀπλῶς ἀφωμοίωται.

Ἐν γὰρ τῷ μέσῳ τοῦ κοιλώματο<ς> ταύτης ὁ οὐ<ρα>νὸς σὺν τοῖς ἀγγέλοις ἱστόρηται. Τῷ δὲ ἀερώδει καὶ οὐ<ρα>νοχρώματι σχήματι τὴν ὄψιν βαλὼν εἶπες ἂν τὸ τῶν ἀσωμάτ<ων> ἄϋλόν τε καὶ ἀ<σχη>ματιστικόν? ἀμυδροφανῶς σχηματίζεσθαι καὶ φανεροφανῶς τάχ' ἀ<μωσ>γέπως ὑπεμφαίνεσθαι. Κατωτέρω δὲ τῆς τοῦ οὐ<ρα>νοῦ ἱστορίας ἡ τοῦ Ἰ<σρα>ήλ ἐξοδος ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἱστόρηται. Ὅψει δὲ Μω<ϋ>σέα τέμνοντα τὴν ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν, στῦλ<ον> πυρὸ<ς> πρὸ τοῦ Ἰ<σρα>ήλ καὶ νεφέλ<ην> κατ<ὰ> τῶν Αἰγυπτίων θεομένους, ἄξονας ἀρμάτων συνδεδεμένους καὶ τοὺς ἀναβάτας ὑποβρυχίους· τὸν δὲ Ἰ<σρα>ήλ διὰ ξηρᾶς ἐν μέσῳ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐκπορευόμενον, νεάνιδ<ας> χορευούσας καὶ ἄδούσας μετὰ τυμπάνων ἐπινικίους ᾠδᾶς, θαῦ<μα> μὲν ἰδέσθαι καὶ τῶν πάλαι θαυμάτων ὑπέρτερον· τινὲς γὰρ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν καθορώμεναι εἰκόασιν τοῖς χεῖλεσιν ἄδειν καὶ ἡρέμα τῷ στόματι μειδιᾶν· ἄλλαι δὲ τὰ ὀπίσθια μόνον δεικνύουσαι ὅμοιαι κινουμέναις νεανίσιν τοῖς ποσὶν ἐφαλλόμεναι <χ>ρώννυνται. Ἰδῆς δὲ καὶ Μω<ϋ>σέα εἰς τὸ Σίναιον ἀνερχόμενον καὶ μετὰ δέους καὶ εὐλαβείας πλάκας γραφομένας δακτύλῳ Θεοῦ δεχόμενον. Ἀ<α>ρῶν δὲ τῷ ταλλέ, ἤγγουν τῇ διπλοῖδι, κάτω μετὰ τοῦ Ἰ<σρα>ήλ ἱστάμενον καὶ τ<ὸν> σύγγονον αὐτοῦ Μωϋσῆν μετὰ πολλῆς προσδοκῶντα φροντίδο<ς>.

Translation

Once I went off to the holy monastery of the Evergetis, which stands outside the city. In it I again beheld that fountain, the outstanding work of the blessed late Paul our fellow citizen from Otranto, a work such as the whole world has never had before. This I shall tell of at length.

For there stands in the courtyard of the monastery a fountain raised to a small height on a column. Above this a roof raised on eight columns is covered with plaques of lead, and on it, quite simply, another heaven has been portrayed.

For in the centre of its hollow, heaven with angels is represented. Casting your gaze on the airy and sky-coloured form, you would say that the immaterial formless nature of the bodiless beings is being formed in faint appearance and somehow subtly suggested in manifest appearance. Below the representation of Heaven the Exodus of Israel from Egypt is represented. You will see Moses dividing the Red Sea, with a pillar of fire racing in front of Israel and a cloud over the Egyptians, the axles of chariots tied up and the passengers submerged. Israel meanwhile <you will see> proceeding on dry land in the middle of the sea, with maidens dancing and singing triumphant songs with tabors, a miracle to behold superior to all the miracles of old. For some of those in front seem to be singing with their lips and gently smiling with their mouths; others, showing only their backs, are depicted as maidens leaping with their feet. You will see Moses ascending Mt Sinai and with fear and reverence receiving tablets inscribed by the finger of God, while Aaron, in the tallit, that is the cloak,¹⁴ stands below with Israel and awaits his brother Moses with great concern.

¹⁴ τῷ ταλλέ, ἤγουν τῆ διπλοῖδι. As Sola recognised, the author must be thinking of the tallit, the woollen mantle which was one of the distinguishing marks of Jews in Byzantine art: see E. Revel-Neher, *The image of the Jew in Byzantine art* (Oxford, 1992), 51ff; 72-75; 96ff; 108.

Συγκάτελθέ μοι μικρὸν καὶ θεάσαι τὸν Ἰορδάνην περιδινόμενον καὶ Χ<ριστό>ν ὑπὸ <Ἰωάννου> ἐν αὐτῷ βαπτιζόμενον ἀτενίζοντος ἐκπάγλως, καὶ τὸ Πν<εῦμα> κατερχόμενον ἐν εἴδει περιστερῶς καὶ βλέποντος, τῇ δὲ μιᾷ χειρὶ τοῦ ἀθανάτου ψάουοντος κορυφῆς, τῇ δὲ ἑτέρα τὸν τρόμον καὶ τὸ δέος διαχαυνουμένων τῶν δακτύλων ἐμφαίνοντος, θάλασσαν φεύγουσαν καὶ ἡμένην ἐπὶ τοῦ κήτους βλοσυρὸν καὶ ἄγριον βλέποντος καὶ ἀπλῶς ἔστιν εἰπεῖν πᾶ<σαν> τὴν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου περὶ τοῦ θείου βαπτίσματος ἱστορίαν ἴδης τρανῶς ἐκεῖσε διὰ ζωγραφίας οἷα περ<ι>ζῶσαν παρισταμένην, Ἰουδαίους, στρατιώτας, τελ<ώνας καὶ> Φαρισαίους ὑπὸ Ἰω<ά>ν<ου> βαπτιζομένους, μυρία τε φύλα ἀρσένων καὶ γυναικῶν ἔτι τε καὶ παιδίων βαπτιζομένων ἐν Ἰορδάν<η>. Ἄλλ' ἴδης καὶ ὄρ<νε>ων ἄσπεα φύλα, ἔθνεά τε παντοίων νεπόδων, περίξ δὲ τούτων προφήτ<ας> ὅψει τόμους κρατοῦντας, ἐν οἷς ἡ προσήκουσα τῷ τοῦ Κ<υρίου> βαπτίσματι γέγραπται πρόρρησις, βλέποντ<ας> καὶ δακτυλοδεικτοῦντας τὸ μέγα καὶ θεῖον μυστήριον. Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ὡς ζῶντα καὶ κινούμενα φαίνεται· ἐν τούτῳ μόνον ἡ χεὶρ τοῦ τεχνίτ<ου> σθένος οὐκ εἶχεν, πνοὴν ἐνθεῖναι ταῖς εἰκόσιν ἢ καθόλ<ου> ψυχῆν· τὰ δ' ἄλλα καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν <φύ>σιν νενίκηκεν. Ταῦτ<α> δ' ἔωρακῶς τέθηπα ὄλο<ς> καὶ ἐξεστηκόμην ἠπορηκῶς· καὶ θέλων <τὴν> τέχνην ἐπαινέσαι καὶ τὸν τεχνίτην ὡς ἐνὸν ἀνταμεῖψαι στίχους τινὰς <ἐ>νεστηλωσάμην ἐκεῖσε. Ἔστι δὲ τῇ φιάλῃ καὶ τοῦ ἀποστ<ό>λ<ου> Παύλου εἰκῶν ἧς τοῖς ποσὶ καὶ οἶδε οἱ στίχοι ἐπίκεινται·

Παῦλ<ος> μὲν εἷς ἦν τοῖς ἀποστ<ό>λ<οις> μόνος,
καὶ Παῦλ<ος> εἷς πέφυκεν ἐν τοῖς ζωγράφοις.
λαλεῖ δ' ἐκεῖνος μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἐν λόγ<οις>,
λαλεῖ πῖναξιν οὕτω<ς> ἢ ζωγραφία.
λαμπτήρ ἐκεῖνο<ς> ἀπάσης οἰκ<ουμένης>,

THE EVERGETIS FOUNTAIN IN THE EARLY THIRTEENTH CENTURY

Come down with me a little and behold the Jordan twisting about, and Christ baptised in it by John who looks on with astonishment as he sees the Spirit descending in the form of a dove, with one hand touching the head of the immortal one, with the other showing his fear and trembling in the slackening of his fingers. You will also see the sea fleeing and lying still over the sea monster,¹⁵ who looks fierce and savage. To put it simply, you can clearly see there the whole Gospel story concerning the divine Baptism represented in painting as a surrounding zone: Jews, soldiers, publicans and Pharisees all baptised by John, myriad hosts of men and women, and children too, being baptised in the Jordan. But you will also behold countless crowds of birds, and all kinds of fish populations, and around them you will see the prophets holding tomes, in which the prophecy appropriate to the Lord's baptism is written, as they watch and point to the great and divine mystery. All these things appear as if alive and moving. In this, the only thing which the hand of the artist was not able to do was to infuse the images with breath or any kind of soul; in all other respects, he has vanquished Nature herself.

Seeing these things, I was completely amazed and stood there at a loss for words. And wishing both to praise the art and, as far as possible, to reward the artist, I put up some verses there. Now at the fountain there is also an image of the Apostle Paul, at the feet of which these verses are added:

There was only a single Paul among the apostles
and only one Paul exists among painters.
The former speaks even until now in words
while painting speaks likewise in pictures.¹⁶
The former was the whole world's illuminator,

¹⁵ κῆτος. The use of this word, coupled with the rather unusual inclusion of the sea in a baptism scene, suggests an allusion to another watery episode of the Old Testament that was much favoured by Christian exegesis, namely the story of Jonah.

¹⁶ The text of this poem is also found in a collection of verse pieces preserved in Vat. gr. 1276, from which it has been edited by Hoeck and Loenertz, *Nikolaos-Nektarios*, 141. At line 4 it offers the easier reading λαλεῖ πίναξιν οὖτος ἐν ζωγραφίᾳ, 'the latter speaks with pictures in painting'.

οὗτος δὲ κόσμος ἀπάσαις ἐκκλησίαις,
εἰ καὶ θέλ<εις> γινώσκειν τούτων <πατρίδας>,
Ταρσεὺς ἐκεῖνος, οὗτος ἐξ Ὑδρουντίων

διό<τι..> μοναχὸ<ς> τῆς αὐτῆς μονῆς Μάρκος τοῦνομα, τῶν
στίχων χάριν ἐπαινέσαι βουλόμενό<ς> με πεποίηκε καὶ
αὐτὸ<ς> <του>τουσὶ τοὺς στίχ<ους>.

νοὸς <πρόνημα> τοῦτο τοῦ Νικολάου
μετατρέποντος ῥαδίως γλωσσῶν γένη,
ἐκ ῥωμαικῆς εἰς τε τὴν ἑλληνίδα,
<ἐ>λληνίδος δὲ πάλιν εἰς ῥωμαίδα.
ὄντως γὰρ αὐτῷ τοῦτο, Παῦλος ὡς γράφει,
Χ<ριστὸ>ς παρέσχε χάριν ὡς δῶρον μέγα
κατὰ τὸ μέτρον, ὡς ἐκάστω παρέχ<ει>.

while the latter is a world of ornament for all churches.
And if you want to know their homelands,
the former is Tarsan, the latter from the Otrantans.

Wherefore a monk of the same monastery, Mark by name, wishing
to praise me on account of the verses, himself also executed the
following verses:

This is the mind's labour of Nikolaos
who easily converts different kinds of language,
from Roman into Hellenic tongue
and again from Hellenic into Roman.
For truly to him, as Paul does write,
has Christ granted the grace of this great gift
according to his measure, as He grants to everyone.¹⁷

¹⁷ In Vat. gr. 1276, ed. Hoeck and Loenertz, *Nikolaos-Nektarios*, 141, line 1 names *Nektarios* instead of *Nikolaos*, and the editors, without commenting on the variation, cite it in support of their belief that Nicholas was a monk when he first went to Constantinople. However, metrically *Nikolaos* is equally possible, and this variant embedded in the *ekphrasis* seems more likely to be the one recorded by the author in Constantinople than the variant given by a text selected for edition, without any indication of the original context, in a later collection of verse.

VIII

Constantinopolitana

Cyril Mango reminds us that he was born and grew up in Istanbul when the city wore a dinner jacket, à la Atatürk¹. This makes him both the envy and the inspiration of younger Byzantinists who share his fascination with his native city. We may, in theory, aspire to arrive one day at his knowledge of the sources, but we can never hope to recreate his experience of that post-imperial era when Istanbul preserved more of the remains, and the atmosphere, of medieval Constantinople than it does today. He is the great βάσανος, the touchstone of our ideas about the topography of the city. I offer the following *mélange* of thoughts in the hope that they will pass the test of his approval, and may even find a place in his own thinking.

1. The Antiphonetes legend and the Chalkoprateia

In his doctoral dissertation and first book, *The Brazen House*, Cyril Mango attempted to sort out the topography of the administrative and ceremonial heart of Constantinople, the complex of monumental structures and spaces where Palace, Church and City met². One of the more problematic sources that he discussed was the legend of the miraculous icon of Christ the Guarantor, which passed, with slight mutations, into the popular literatures of other Christian cultures³. In what follows, I would like to suggest some solutions to the topographical problems posed by this legend and the cult associated with it.

The printed Greek version of the legend is a homily entitled "Narration beneficial to the soul concerning the icon of the Lord at the Chalkoprateia, for what cause it was called Antiphonetes, and concerning Theodore the shipmaster and Abraham the Jew"⁴. A Christian shipmaster who falls on hard times is

¹ C. Mango, *Studies on Constantinople*, Aldershot 1993, ix.

² C. Mango, *The Brazen House. A Study of the Vestibule of the Imperial Palace of Constantinople*, Copenhagen 1959.

³ *Ibid.*, 142ff. Cf. B. Nelson and I. Starr, *The Legend of the Divine Surety and the Jewish Moneylender*, *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves* 7 (1939–1944) 289–338; T. Raff, *Das "heilige Keramion" und "Christos der Antiphonetes"*, *Dona ethnologica Monacensia. Leopold Kretzenbacher zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. H. Gerndt, K. Roth, G. R. Schroubek (Münchner Beiträge zur Volkskunde), Munich 1983, 149–161; G. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, Washington D.C. 1984, 356–360.

⁴ Ed. F. Combefis, *Historia haeresis Monothelitarum sanctaeque in eam sextae synodi actorum vindiciae, diversorum item antiqua ac medii aevi, tum historiae sacrae, tum docma-*

reduced to borrowing money for a business venture from a rich Jew, Abraham, whose offers of partnership he has previously rejected. The deal is agreed in front of an icon of Christ, whom Theodore produces as the guarantor (Greek ἀντιφωνητής; Latin *sponsor* or *fideiussor*)⁵ required by Abraham to stand surety for the loan. The icon is said to be on the east side of a domed tetrastyle with a bronze-tiled roof erected by Constantine the Great. In the presence of the icon, Abraham hands over 50lb of gold, which Theodore invests profitably, only to lose everything in a shipwreck. Abraham, however, lends him another 50lb of gold, again handing it over before the icon in the tetrastyle. This time Theodore and his ship full of merchandise are blown off course and driven ashore on a remote western island, where the inhabitants purchase his cargo, giving him an equivalent quantity of tin and lead, plus 50lb of gold to make up the difference in value. Theodore puts the gold in a casket with a covering letter for Abraham and commits it to the waves, praying to Christ the guarantor for its safe delivery. He returns safely to Constantinople, where he finds that Abraham has received the money. As the news becomes public, Abraham seeks baptism for himself and his household. The emperor Heraclius goes in public procession with the patriarch Sergius to the tetrastyle, where the casket with the gold is put on display and the accompanying letter read out. Meanwhile, Theodore discovers that the shipload of tin and lead has been changed into silver. This he donates to Hagia Sophia, where silversmiths fashion it into silver revetment for the ambo and sanctuary. Theodore and his wife take monastic vows; Abraham founds an oratory inside the domed tetrastyle, which the patriarch Sergius consecrates, ordaining Abraham as priest and his two sons as deacons to officiate there.

Some scholars may be inclined to accept the literal truth of this edifying tale, but I doubt whether the honorand of this volume, or most of its readers, will be among them. Quite apart from the miraculous elements of the story — which are recognisable as a more fantastic variation of an episode in the *Life of St John the Almsgiver*⁶ — it is inherently implausible that Abraham would willingly have entrusted 100lb of gold to a piously anti-Jewish Christian with no surety other than the Christian's faith in what was, to the Jew, the graven image of a false Messiah. The statement that the silver revetment “can be seen

tica, Graeca opuscula, Paris 1648, 612–648. For the unpublished Greek versions, see *BHG* III, 112–113, nos. 8–8f.

⁵ *Sponsor* is the equivalent term in Justinian's Novels (4.1, 99 proem), *fideiussor* in the Latin version of the miracle story transmitted by the “Mercati Anonymous”, ed. K. Ciggaar, *Une description de Constantinople traduite par un pèlerin anglais*, REB 34 (1976) 250–255.

⁶ Ed. A. J. Festugière and L. Rydén, *Vie de Syméon le Fou et Vie de Jean de Chypre*, Paris 1974, § VIII, pp. 353–354; cf. Mango, *Brazen House*, 143–144.

to this day” suggests a fairly long lapse of time between the reign of Heraclius, when the events are supposed to have taken place, and the composition of the homily. It is thus unlikely that this was written before the beginning of Iconoclasm in the eighth century; indeed, its insistence on the miraculous agency of the *icon* of Christ points rather to a date at least after the first and probably after the second Iconoclasm, and thus to a milieu which had an interest in making the story vindicate the veneration of icons. The Antiphonetes icon certainly had a place in iconophile folklore, for the supposed letter of Pope Gregory II to the emperor Leo III accused him of having ordered the removal of the icon and the massacre of the pious women who had lynched the imperial official responsible⁷. Since the report of this incident bears a striking resemblance to the accounts of the more famous *cause célèbre* of the icon of Christ of the Chalke⁸, it is impossible not to suspect a contamination of one tradition by the other, facilitated by the potential for confusion between the similar names of the Chalke and the nearby complex of the Chalkoprateia, with which the Antiphonetes icon became associated⁹. Either or both names could have suggested the detail of the bronze tiles in the description of the domed tetrastyle. As for the attribution of the building and the icon to Constantine the Great, this may be questioned in view of the probability that the text was written in the age of “Constantin imaginaire”, when the sainted founder of Constantinople was indiscriminately credited with all manner of early buildings and enlisted by both sides in the dispute over icons¹⁰.

⁷ Mango, *Brazen House*, 113–115, using the edition by E. Caspar, in: ZKIrcheng 52 (1933) 81–82; new edition and commentary by J. Gouillard, *Aux origines de l'iconoclasme: le témoignage de Grégoire II*, TM 3 (1968) 243–307, at 293 and 267–270.

⁸ Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, Leipzig 1883–1885, I, 405; tr. C. Mango and R. Scott, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, Oxford 1997, 559–560; *Vita S. Stephani Iunioris*, PG 100, 1085; cf. Mango, *Brazen House*, 108–142, esp. 112 ff.

⁹ The assumption that the Chalke is the “correct” location (*ibid.*) is seriously undermined by the case that has recently been made for regarding the pre-iconoclastic icon at the Chalke as an invention of early ninth-century iconophile propaganda. Indeed, the epigram which reportedly accompanied the icon put up there by Eirene can be interpreted to mean that this icon was a replacement for those which the Iconoclasts had taken down *elsewhere* or *in general*: see *Scriptor Incertus de Leone Armenio*, 355; M.-F. Auzépy, *La destruction de l'icône du Christ de la Chalce par Léon III: propagande ou réalité?* Byzantion 60 (1990) 445–492, esp. 449, 451, 482–484. On the Chalkoprateia, see below.

¹⁰ See A. P. Kazhdan, “Constantin imaginaire”. *Byzantine Legends of the Ninth Century about Constantine the Great*, Byzantion 57 (1987) 196–250; see also various contributions to P. Magdalino, ed., *New Constantines. The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th–13th Centuries*, Aldershot 1994. For buildings in Constantinople attributed to Constantine, see A. Berger, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos*, Bonn 1988, index I, s. v. Konstantin der Große.

After this demolition job, it might be pointless to use the legend as an historical source. However, some credible elements can be salvaged from the wreckage. The happy ending of the story is entirely appropriate to the historical context in which it is set. In 632 Heraclius made the first of three strenuous imperial efforts to enforce the conversion of the Jews on imperial territory¹¹. He and the patriarch would have made the very most of the voluntary conversion of a righteous Jew whose Christian partner had made a miraculous profit. Heraclius was also the first emperor to requisition church treasure in a military emergency; he may have justified the measure as a loan guaranteed by Christ, and he and the patriarch would certainly have given great publicity to any pious donations which replenished the Great Church's stock of precious metals¹². It is therefore likely that the Antiphonetes legend originated in government propaganda of the 630s on the basis of contemporary realia; it is not impossible that Theodore and Abraham were real people who formed a commercial partnership for an investment underwritten by the Great Church, of whose vast wealth Christ was the legal owner¹³. The basic historicity of the episode becomes easier to accept if the legendary role of the icon is seen as an iconophile reversal of the actual order of events, in which the icon was put up to *commemorate* the miraculous outcome. Indeed, the published version of the homily introduces the icon in a way strongly suggestive of interpolation. The domed tetrastyle is presented, in the context of emphasising Constantine's devotion to the *Cross*, as a building which Constantine put up to house and display the precious cross that he had carried into battle; the text then switches abruptly from the subject of the Cross, which is now abandoned, to the subject of the icon¹⁴. One might detect here the traces of an earlier —

¹¹ See G. Dagron and V. Déroche, *Juifs et Chrétiens dans l'Orient du VII^e siècle*, TM 11 (1991) 17–248, esp. 28 ff.

¹² Theophanes, ed. de Boor, I, 302–303 (tr. Mango and Scott, 435); Nikephoros, *Short History*, ed. and tr. C. Mango, CFHB 13, Washington D. C., 1990, 52–53. It may be significant that Alexios I, the next emperor who “borrowed” gold and silver from the church in an emergency, took them mostly from the tomb of the empress Zoe at the church of Christ the Guarantor: see Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, VI.3., 3, 5, ed. B. Leib, II, Paris 1943, 46, 48, and below, p. 225.

¹³ This is surely the implication of the fact that testators named Christ and the saints as legatees, which in legal practice meant that bequests to Christ went to “the local church” (i. e. the cathedral), while a legacy to a saint went to the nearest oratory in his or her name: Justinian, Novel 131.9.

¹⁴ Ed. Combefis, 613–616: (Constantine) ... Θεοῦ δὲ συνεργία κατευοδούμενος τῇ τοῦ ζωηφόρου σταυροῦ συμμαχία κρατυνόμενος, τὸ τῆς βασιλείας κράτος ἐκ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης πρὸς ταύτην τὴν θεοφρούρητον Νέαν Ῥώμην μετέστησεν ... μέσον δὲ ταύτης τῆς μεγαλοπόλεως τετράστυλον ἡμισφαίριον ὤκοδόμησε, διὰ χαλκοκεράμων τὴν στέγην ποιησάμενος, κελεύσας ἔνδοθεν αὐτοῦ ἀποτίθεσθαι τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ

Iconoclast or pre-Iconoclast? — version of the story, according to which the contract was sealed before the sign of the Cross. Either way, the presence of an *image* — whether a portrait of Christ or a representation of the Cross — seems essential in order to explain why the transactions take place at a particular location.

But what of this location? Attempts to identify the domed tetrastyle have not progressed since Professor Mango tentatively suggested the Milion and the Bronze Tetrastyle, both Constantinian constructions of the right architectural form, as possible candidates¹⁵. Of the two, the Milion has three points in its favour: it had a Constantinian cross, it was very close to the Chalkoprateia, and it was also very close to the portico of the silver-dealers (ἀργυροπράται)¹⁶, who in sixth and seventh-century Constantinople were both the bankers and the loan-insurers, the ἀντιφώνηταί, par excellence¹⁷. The last point is crucial, because it was to this part of the city that two prospective business partners would have come to arrange an ἀντιφώνησις for a loan.

The difficulty with this interpretation is threefold: the Milion was best known to Constantinopolitans by its proper name rather than as a nameless domed tetrastyle, it was never a part of the Chalkoprateia complex, and it is never referred to as the site of a church¹⁸. But here it is important to note that the homilist does not actually say that the church was visible in his day, in contrast to his remarks about the silver revetment in Hagia Sophia. This suggests that he was confronted by a discrepancy between the actual location of the Antiphonetes icon, on the one hand, in a part of the Chalkoprateia complex that was visibly not a domed tetrastyle, and, on the other hand, a tradition which associated the icon with the Milion. Such a discrepancy, compounded by confusion between the Chalke and Chalkoprateia icons, might have caused the author to be deliberately vague about the identity of the building.

νικοποιοῦ σταυροῦ· οὔτινος τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ χαρακτῆρος κατ'ἀνατολὰς εἰκόνα σεβασμίαν ἐκτυπώσας, ἀνεστήλωσε πρὸς τὸ θεωρεῖσθαι καὶ προσκυνῆσαι παρὰ πάντων τῶν πιστῶν. The sentence continues to make sense even when the clause (italicised) introducing the icon is removed.

¹⁵ Mango, *Brazen House*, 145.

¹⁶ Combine *Chronicon Paschale*, CSHB, 623, with *Book of the Prefect*, 2.10 (ed. J. Koder, CFHB 33, Vienna 1991, 88–89). An anecdote in the *Patria* concerns a banker (τραπεζίτης) whose stall was at the Milion: ed. Th. Preger, *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitarum*, II, Leipzig 1907, 247–248; cf. Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 720.

¹⁷ This is clear from Justinian, Novel 146 and Edict 9; cf. S. J. B. Barnish, *The Wealth of Julius Argentarius: Late Antique Banking and the Mediterranean Economy*, Byzantion 55 (1985) 5–38, esp. 19ff., and Antonio Diaz Bautista, *Estudios sobre la banca bizantina (Negocios bancarios en la legislación de Justiniano)*, Murcia 1987, 186ff.

¹⁸ See in general Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 271–276.

Whatever the truth of the matter, it seems unlikely that before the eleventh century the icon was housed in anything grander than a small side chapel of one of the two main churches at the Chalkoprateia, that of the Virgin and that of St James¹⁹. The liturgical and patriographic texts of the ninth and tenth centuries which refer to these churches do not mention a separate church of Christ Antiphonetes. The first such mention is a pilgrim itinerary of c. 1090²⁰, and it almost certainly refers to the building attributed by a late but reliable source to the empress Zoe (d. 1050)²¹. We know nothing about the appearance of this church, but there is every reason to suppose that it was large and well appointed. Zoe was passionately devoted to the icon, and she was a big spender²². The church was her burial place, and presumably she would not have wanted it to be markedly inferior to the sumptuous monastic churches of the Peribleptos, the Kosmidion and the Mangana, which her three husbands built at great expense to the taxpayer²³. The foundation was substantially endowed²⁴, and the church would have had at least two annexes: the financial office (*sekretion*) which managed the endowment²⁵, and the bath-house (*lousma*) where the *diakonia* or charitable confraternity of the Antiphonetes bathed and fed the poor²⁶. Altogether, the new foundation represented a considerable enlargement of the Chalkoprateia complex. To the south and east, further expansion was blocked by the streets and other public spaces separating the complex from the Milion and Hagia Sophia. We do not know what lay to the north, but on the west the Chalkoprateia was adjoined by a vast space that was

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 411ff.; R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, I: *Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique*, III: *Les églises et les monastères*, Paris ²1969, 237–242, 253–255, 506–507 (hereafter, Janin, *Églises*).

²⁰ Ed. Ciggaar, *Une description*, 250, 255.

²¹ Anonymous chronicler, ed. K. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη* VII, Paris 1894, 163; Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, VI.3., 3, 5; ed. B. Leib, II, Paris 1943, 46, 48.

²² Michael Psellos, *Chronographia*, ed. E. Renauld, Paris 1926–1927, I 147, 149; II 49.

²³ *Ibid.*, I 41–44, 72; II 61–63; John Skylitzes, *Synopsis Historiarum*, ed. J. Thurn, CFHB 5, Berlin–New York 1973, 384, 476–477; Janin, *Églises*, 70ff, 218ff, 287. For the context and recent bibliography, see P. Magdalino, *Constantinople médiévale. Études sur l'évolution des structures urbaines*, Paris 1996, 64ff, 76–78.

²⁴ It owned estates near Thebes, and, probably, in the region of Antioch: John Tzetzes, *Epistulae*, ed. P. A. M. Leone, Leipzig 1972, 101–102; J.-C. Cheynet, *Sceaux byzantins des musées d'Antioche et de Tarse*, TM 12 (1994) 435–436.

²⁵ Michael Psellos, *Orationes forenses et acta*, ed. G. T. Dennis, Stuttgart–Leipzig 1994, 145; Anna Comnena (as above, n. 21).

²⁶ V. Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux de l'Empire byzantin*, V/2, Paris 1965, nos. 1207–1208. Cf. P. Magdalino, *Church, Bath and Diakonia in Medieval Constantinople*, in: *Church and people in Byzantium*, ed. R. Morris, Birmingham 1990, 184; idem, *Constantinople médiévale*, 33–34, 67, 94.

ripe for redevelopment, namely the courtyard and surrounding porticoes of the ancient Basilica²⁷. In the sixth century, these porticoes had housed school-rooms, bookshops, and the chambers of judges and advocates. By the 780s, however, the Basilica was in a ruinous state, when the patriarch Tarasios used it for the distribution of rations to the poor on Easter Sunday²⁸: a use suggestive of encroachment by the Church, and specifically by the neighbouring church complexes of Sphorakios and the Chalkoprateia²⁹. Indeed, it is not inconceivable that the original chapel of the Antiphonetes occupied a chamber in one of the stoas. What seems fairly certain is that in the eleventh century, the Basilica offered not only ample building space and building materials, but also a ready-made water supply in the form of the great covered cistern constructed there by Justinian³⁰. The Basilica cistern, which modern scholars are unanimous in identifying with the so-called Yerebatan Saray, is the only one to have been located in the immediate vicinity of the Chalkoprateia. It is thus extremely tempting to identify it with the “cistern of the Antiphonetes” attested in documents of the late twelfth century³¹. Such an identification would, however, create difficulties for the siting of the other buildings described in these documents, notably the luxury residence known as the “Palace of Botaneiates”³².

Although its exact location remains undetermined, the cistern of the Anti-

²⁷ Mango, *Brazen House*, 44–45, 48–51, Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 417–422.

²⁸ Ignatios the Deacon, *Vita Tarasii Archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani*, *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae* 17 (1981) 402–403, referring to the καλούμενον τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐστίας ἡδὴ ἐρριπωμένον τόπον; I follow Berger (*Untersuchungen*, 419) in accepting Mango’s (*Brazen House*, 51) tentative identification of the site with the Basilica.

²⁹ Cf. Magdalino, *Constantinople médiévale*, 38.

³⁰ Mango, *Brazen House*, 49.

³¹ Ed. A. Sanguineti and G. Bertolotto, *Nuova serie di documenti sulle relazioni di Genova coll’Impero bizantino*, *Atti della Società ligure di storia patria* 28 (1896–1898) 416, 419, 426, 429, 443, 482.

³² The cistern is mentioned in the context of the grant of this palace to Genoa. For an English translation of the Latin and Greek texts of the inventories of 1192 and 1202 respectively, see M. Angold, ed., *The Byzantine Aristocracy IX to XIII Centuries* (British Archaeological Reports 221), Oxford 1984, 254–266 (but note that, contrary to the sense of the translation, the Genoese were *not* allowed to use the Antiphonetes cistern for bathing or watering their horses). The two possible locations of the Botaneiates palace are discussed by A. Berger, *Zur Topographie der Ufergegend am Goldenen Horn in der byzantinischen Zeit*, *IstMitt* 45 (1995) 162. One more or less suits the identification of the Antiphonetes cistern with the Yerebatan Saray, but the other is more compatible with the proximity of the palace to a monastery of St Demetrios, for which the best candidate seems to be the foundation of this dedication on the Acropolis: Magdalino, *Constantinople médiévale*, 62, 82.

phonetes was clearly in an elevated position at some distance from the sea³³. It was therefore probably not in close proximity to the icon of Christ Antiphonetes which a fourteenth-century Russian traveller claimed to have observed near the shore of the Golden Horn³⁴. The icon, which was displayed on the outside of the sea wall, may have been associated with property of the Antiphonetes *sekretion* in this area, but a more likely explanation for its situation lies in the fact that it would have been highly visible from the suburb to the north of the Golden Horn where the Jewish quarter had been in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It was probably put up in this period as a reminder to the Jewish community, and especially those of its members who crossed the water on business, of the benefits of believing in Christ. The Antiphonetes legend would thus seem to have retained its original propaganda purpose. In this connection, it is interesting to note the opinion of one modern authority that the Jewish quarter was moved across the Golden Horn in 1044 — that is, very close to the time when Zoe founded the Antiphonetes church³⁵.

2. *The fire of 1197 and the church of the Theotokos Kyriotissa*

I do not know whether the young Cyril Mango ever woke to the chilling cry of “Yangin var!” (“Fire!”), but little more than a generation before his childhood, when Istanbul, in his words, wore the fez, devastating, uncontrollable fires were a regular occurrence which no foreign visitor failed to mention, along with the ubiquitous stray dogs. These fires were one aspect of daily life that Ottoman Istanbul had in common with its Byzantine predecessor. The worst conflagrations were those that broke out in summer in the quarters bordering the Golden Horn, from where the prevailing north wind drove them inland towards the commercial and residential heart of the city. On three famous occasions — in 465, 1203 and 1865 — the blaze did not stop until it reached the Sea of Marmara, having devastated everything in its rapidly widening path³⁶. Niketas Choniates, the historian who recorded the great fire of 19 August 1203, prefaced his tragic description with the remark that it made the many other previous outbreaks, which were simply too many to enumerate, seem

³³ The descriptions of the palace of Botaneiates (see previous note) indicate that it stood on steeply rising ground; it also did not directly adjoin the rest of the Genoese quarter, which lay inside the city wall: Sanguineti–Bertolotto, *Nuovi documenti*, 470.

³⁴ See Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 359–360.

³⁵ D. Jacoby, *Les quartiers juifs de Constantinople à l'époque byzantine*, Byzantion 37 (1967) 168–183, repr. in idem, *Société et démographie à Byzance et en Roumanie latine*, London 1975.

³⁶ Cf. Magdalino, *Constantinople médiévale*, 92.

like mere bonfires³⁷. Choniates might have recalled the fire or fires which destroyed areas to the south of the Pisan and Genoese quarters in or shortly before 1192³⁸. He would almost certainly have remembered the blaze of 25 July 1197 which moved his contemporary Constantine Stilbes to a tragical effusion of nine hundred and thirty seven twelve-syllable verses³⁹. As we might expect, this work is largely a rhetorical disquisition on the significance of the catastrophe. However, like Choniates (who may have read him), Stilbes vividly evokes the physical, psychological and social effects of such a blaze, and his scattered allusions to buildings and topography add up to quite a precise and coherent picture. The fire broke out at night near the Droungarios Gate (line 174), near the Venetian quarter (715)⁴⁰, and was fuelled by the grain, wine and oil stored in the warehouses by the Golden Horn (165–173, 331–346). It raged through the night and into the next day. It gutted the harbour area (192–193, 312, 814ff), sweeping south-westward as far as the Mesomphalon of the city (315)⁴¹, sparing neither mansions, churches or monasteries, masonry walls or lead roofs, which melted like rainwater (83–85). The tall mansions (104–105, 190–193) were fortified with towers and crenellations (397–398)⁴², and decorated with fine frescoes (407ff.). A domed church dedicated to Christ was blackened and disfigured and left open to dogs and looters (445ff, 465ff)⁴³; there is no clue as to its identity, though the monument now known as the Vefa Kilise Camii might be a possibility⁴⁴. A church of the Theotokos was completely gutted (483 ff.). The clue to the identity of this church is contained in the following lines (503–507):

³⁷ *Historia*, ed. J. L. van Dieten, CFHB 11, Berlin–New York 1975, 553–554.

³⁸ G. Müller, *Documenti sulle relazioni delle città toscane coll'oriente e coi Turchi fino all'anno MDXXXI*, Florence 1879, 47, 56–57; Sanguineti–Bertolotto, *Nuovi documenti*, 443. Note that in both cases the Italians received the burnt properties as part of the extension to their quarter.

³⁹ Ed. J. Diethart, *Der Rhetor und Didaskalos Konstantinos Stilbes* (typewritten doctoral dissertation), Vienna 1971, 134–171 (text).

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, commentary p. 181. Cf. Berger, *Zur Topographie*, 156–160, esp. 158–159.

⁴¹ τὸν ὀμφαλὸν δ' ἐπέσχε τῆς Κωνσταντινίου. On the Mesomphalon, see Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 468–470. More recently, Berger (*Zur Topographie*, 149 and 151) proposes a precise location, but this seems to me too far to the north to be the “navel” of the city. As Berger noted in his earlier discussion (*Untersuchungen*, 469, 479–480), the Mesomphalon was near the church of the Theotokos *ta Kyrou*, corresponding to the modern Kalenderhane Camii, which was indeed destroyed in the fire of 1197: see below.

⁴² φεῦ φεῦ ἔρυμνοὶ πυργεπάλιδες δόμοι
ὥσπερ πόλεις ἐστῶτες εἰς μέσην πόλιν

⁴³ I take the reference to οἱ νεῶ τοῦ δεσπότη to indicate a dedication to Christ, as distinct from the later mentioned τῆς παρθένου δὲ τοὺς νεῶς (483).

⁴⁴ See Mango, *Studies on Constantinople*, no. XXII.

τὸν δ' αὖ νεῶν ἐκεῖνον ἢ νεῶν χάριν,
 τοῖς ἐν ναοῖς ἄστρασιν ἄλλον φωσφόρον,
 πόθεν στενάξω τοῖς καταλλήλοις γόοις,
 ἂν ἐξετάκη τῷ πυρὶ τὰ δάκρυα
 ὄνπερ προεσκεύασε φαιδρότης Κύρου
 καὶ χεῖρ ἐπηγλάϊσεν εὐσεβεστέρα

Thus we learn that the church was first built by the “brilliance of Cyrus” and then embellished by a “more pious hand”. On a symbolic level, there is probably an allusion here to the Persian king Cyrus the Great, who allowed the Jews to return to Jerusalem from Babylon and rebuild the Temple. In the Constantinopolitan context, however, the reference must be to Cyrus of Pano-*polis*, the fifth-century urban prefect, and to the church of the Virgin *ta Kyrou*, whose foundation is attributed to him by the *Patria*⁴⁵. The reference to a more pious hand presumably alludes to Cyrus’ reputation as a crypto-pagan, though it is not clear who is meant. It might be Romanos the Melodist, who according to legend received inspiration from the miraculous icon of the Virgin Kyriotissa that was housed in the church. This icon is in fact mentioned by Stilbes (522ff) in metaphorical but unmistakable terms: comparing it to the dove released from Noah’s Ark, he says that it escaped the fire and found refuge in the church of the Forty Martyrs⁴⁶.

The indication that the church of the Forty Martyrs lay at a close but safe distance fully accords with the latest conclusions concerning the location of the church of the Theotokos *ta Kyrou*⁴⁷. The medieval church was entirely different from the early Byzantine monastery of the same name, which lay in the south-west corner of the city, in the zone between the Constantinian and Theodosian walls. The church has been firmly identified with the Byzantine monument now known as the Kalendarhane Camii, on the basis of frescoes discovered within that building depicting the Virgin and inscribed with the epithet Kyriotissa⁴⁸. The Kalendarhane lay in the general vicinity of the Mes-

⁴⁵ Ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, 252; Janin, *Églises*, 193–195. For Cyrus, see Alan Cameron, *The empress and the poet: paganism and politics at the court of Theodosius II*, Yale Classical Studies 27 (1982) 217–289.

⁴⁶ The allusion is misunderstood by Diethart, commentary 178–179.

⁴⁷ Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 477–482, and *ibid.*, 318–321 for the Forty Martyrs.

⁴⁸ Pending full publication of the monument, see for a brief survey and relevant bibliography, T. F. Mathews, *The Byzantine Churches of Istanbul. A Photographic Survey*, University Park, PA 1976, 171–185; W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls*, Tübingen 1977, 153–158.

omphalon⁴⁹, and hence in the area affected by the fire of 1197. The present building dates mainly from the late twelfth century, but the archaeology of the site reveals that it replaced and partly incorporated a succession of much older structures. The poem by Stilbes reveals the circumstances in which the late twelfth-century rebuilding took place: the Kalendarhane Camii as it now stands was erected after the fire of July 1197.

In view of the stagnation of building activity in Constantinople under the Latin occupation, the work must have been completed by April 1204 at the latest. We thus now have a fairly precise date for an important metropolitan Byzantine monument, and evidence that it was completed very close in time to the Latin conquest. We also get an idea of the speed with which the Byzantines of this period were able to carry out high-quality building projects, and to repair the damage inflicted by fire. Altogether, the evidence speaks well for the economic vitality and the technical infrastructure of Constantinopolitan society on the eve of the Fourth Crusade.

3. *The Sapria/Sapra burial ground and the bones of Vlanga*

Eustathios of Thessalonica introduces his famous narrative of the sack of Thessalonica in 1185 with an account of the rise to power of Andronikos I. He relates how Andronikos took advantage of the power struggle after the death of Manuel I between Manuel's daughter, Maria, and the regency government of Manuel's son Alexios II dominated by Alexios the *protosebastos*. Eustathios characterises the struggle as a "holy war", in which Maria, her husband Renier of Montferrat and their armed supporters were the "church party", battling to defend themselves in Hagia Sophia, where their right to sanctuary was upheld by the Patriarch Theodosios, against eviction and seizure by the government troops, or the "imperial party". According to Eustathios, in the course of the fighting "many of the church party fell, and an incalculable number of those who were on the emperor's side ... The fighting caused many casualties, and it filled *the southern cemetery, the one near the sea, which has come to be called Sapria, with the corpses of the emperor's supporters*"⁵⁰.

⁴⁹ This has been deduced from the fact that the writer John Geometres, also known as Kyriotes, lived in the neighbourhood of the Mesomphalon, as he tells us in an ekphrasis of his garden: ed. A. R. Littlewood, *The Progymnasmata of Ioannes Geometres*, Amsterdam 1972, 11; cf. Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 479–480.

⁵⁰ Ed. S. Kyriakides, Italian transl. by V. Rotolo, *La espugnazione di Tessalonica*, Palermo 1961, 26–27, 28–29; repr. with the same pagination and English transl. by J. R. Melville-Jones, *The Capture of Thessaloniki* (Byzantina Australiensia 8), Canberra 1988. I have slightly altered the translation of the second passage. The Greek of the italicised section is as follows: τὸ νότιον πολυάνδριον, τὸ πρὸς τῇ θαλάσῃ, ὃ δὴ Σαπρία τετέλεται λέγεσθαι.

The other account of the episode, in the *History* of Niketas Choniates, differs in several particulars, for all that Choniates admired Eustathios, used his narrative and generally shared his political sympathies⁵¹. Among other things, Choniates provides more topographical detail⁵², he does not describe the conflict as a “holy war” between “church” and “imperial” parties, and, perhaps most remarkably, he is much less sensational on the subject of the casualties: “many of the emperor’s contingent were wounded, and one died from being run through with a sword”⁵³. Of the two authors, Eustathios wrote closer in time to the events, but he may have been in Thessalonica when they happened, and he was writing five years later for a Thessalonican audience⁵⁴. His information thus cannot be accepted unreservedly. On the other hand, he was a native Constantinopolitan who knew the city well and kept in touch with friends there. So we can accept that the burial ground called Sapria — “Rot” — did exist and received a mass burial at about the time of which Eustathios was writing, though not necessarily in connection with the “holy war”.

The toponym is not otherwise attested in that exact form, but a gloss to the *Patria* dating from the reign of Andronikos II (1282–1328) applies the name *Sapra* to the so-called Nekra, that is the vaulted chambers under the seats of the Hippodrome where, according to the *Patria*, the bodies were piled of the people massacred under Justinian in the Nika Riot⁵⁵. As Albrecht Berger judiciously notes, this may be an attempt to locate an otherwise unidentified toponym⁵⁶. It could equally be an attempt to relocate, or reinterpret, a known toponym that was visibly connected with a mass burial — for this is clearly what *Sapria* or *Sapra* indicates. It is very unlikely that in the fourteenth century, or indeed at any time, the evidence of such a burial would have been visible in the Hippodrome. On the other hand, three late-medieval travellers to Constantinople state that such evidence was visible on the southern shore of the city, outside the sea wall at Vlanga, on land formerly occupied by the harbour of Theodosius⁵⁷. The Russian traveller Stephen of Novgorod claimed that the bones were those of Persians who had perished in an assault on Constantinople⁵⁸. According to the westerners Bertrandon de la Broquière and

⁵¹ Ed. van Dieten, 230–241; cf. *ibid.*, 216, 296–308, and M. Angold, *Church and Society in Byzantium under the Comneni, 1081–1261*, Cambridge 1995, 117.

⁵² See, notably, the use made of it by Mango, *Brazen House*, 48, 94–96.

⁵³ Choniates, ed. van Dieten, 240.

⁵⁴ Cf. P. Magdalino, *Eustathios and Thessalonica*, in: ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝ, Studies in honour of Robert Browning, ed. C. Constantinides et al., Venice 1996, 225–238.

⁵⁵ Ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, 278.

⁵⁶ Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 550.

⁵⁷ On this, see A. Berger, *Der Langa Bostan in Istanbul*, *IstMitt* 43 (1993) 67–77.

⁵⁸ Ed. and tr. Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 38–39. The reference is to the siege of 626.

Cristoforo Buondelmonti, they were the remains of Latin participants of the First Crusade murdered by the Byzantines⁵⁹. Both explanations are implausible, as is the one advanced by the editor of de la Broquière on the basis of an assertion by Brocartus Alemannus: namely, that the bones belonged to Franks massacred on the orders of Michael VIII Palaiologos after the Greek recapture of the city in 1261⁶⁰.

Eustathios' reference to the Sapria — “the southern cemetery, the one near the sea” — provides the basis for a more credible solution. The “holy war” between the Comnenian dynastic factions in 1181 may not have produced many casualties, but the massacre of the Latins which accompanied Andronikos Komnenos' seizure of power in the following year undoubtedly did. This was the only serious massacre of Latins by Greeks in recorded history, and its numerous victims would fairly certainly have been buried without ceremony — as were the Sicilians who died in Byzantine captivity three years later⁶¹.

If the Sapria was, as Eustathios implies, a regular cemetery rather than an improvised dumping-ground, one would perhaps expect to find it in the semi-urban zone between the Constantinian and Theodosian walls. Here, after all, lay the cemetery of St Luke, which was still the main burial place of the city in 1200 and should presumably be identified as the “northern cemetery” from which the Sapria is implicitly distinguished⁶². But the prohibition against burial within the city was long redundant by the twelfth century, and in any case the area of the former Theodosian harbour was extra-mural. Unless or until evidence of dense burials is found near the coast to the west of this area, it remains the most likely location of what was evidently an important over-spill cemetery for the expanding population of twelfth-century Constantinople.

⁵⁹ Bertrandon de la Broquière, *Le Voyage d'Outremer*, ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1892, 152–153; G. Gerola, *Le Vedute di Costantinopoli di Cristoforo Buondelmonti*, SBN 3 (1931) 271–272.

⁶⁰ Schefer, *loc. cit.*, n. 3, followed, with misgivings, in the commentary by Majeska, *Travelers*, 269–271.

⁶¹ Eustathios, ed. and tr. Kyriakides–Melville-Jones, 34–37; Choniates, ed. van Dieten, 250–251, 364.

⁶² C. Mango, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople (IV^e–VII^e siècles)*, Paris ²1990, 47–48, 57–58.

The grain supply of Constantinople, ninth–twelfth centuries

The population size of Constantinople in late antiquity, and the extent of its decline in the 'Dark Ages', have been and remain matters of intelligent guesswork on which opinions will no doubt continue to differ. However, for the peak of the subsequent recovery we have a precise contemporary estimate. Geoffrey of Villehardouin says that the city taken by the forces of the Fourth Crusade in 1204 numbered 400,000 inhabitants.¹ The figure is no doubt inaccurate, but it is the only global estimate we have; it is better than nothing and, like the vendor's starting price in a bazaar transaction, it defines the level at which the dialectic of arriving at a satisfactory estimate can begin. Other contemporary commentators confirm that Constantinople was regarded as a city almost in a class of its own.² In the half century before the conquest, the city had exhibited three classic symptoms of urban overcrowding, all recorded by Nicetas Choniates: a recurrent water shortage,³ recurrent popular unrest,⁴ and a series of fires culminating in the great conflagration of 1203.⁵ Various considerations support the view of a continuous population growth from the ninth to the twelfth century. The record of building projects during this period is unin-

¹ Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. E. Faral, 5th ed. (Paris, 1973), II, 251.

² See, e.g., the description by Benjamin of Tudela, quoted in translation by A. Sharf, *Byzantine Jewry from Justinian to the Fourth Crusade* (London, 1971), 134–6.

³ Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. J.-L. van Dieten, CFHB 11/1 (Berlin–New York, 1975), 329–30 (unfinished additions to the aqueduct network by Andronicus I). For earlier additions by Manuel I in response to a water shortage, cf. John Cinnamus, ed. A. Meineke, CSHB (Bonn, 1836), 174–6; Eustathius of Thessalonica, in W. Regal, ed., *Fontes rerum byzantinorum* (St Petersburg, 1892, 1917), 126–31.

⁴ Nicetas Choniates, ed. van Dieten, 233ff., 243, 250–51, 255, 265, 270, 344–7, 349–51, 390–93, 455–6, 519–20, 523–7, 552–3, 558ff.

⁵ Nicetas Choniates, ed. van Dieten, 445, 552–5; cf. T.F. Madden, 'The Fires of the Fourth Crusade in Constantinople, 1203–1204: A Damage Assessment', *BZ* 84/5 (1991–2), 72–93.

errupted.⁶ Few would now dispute that the Byzantine agricultural economy was expanding, or that Byzantine cities benefited from the growth of trade throughout the Mediterranean.⁷ The imperial bureaucracy, the imperial aristocracy and the church became increasingly centralized.⁸ In the tenth and eleventh centuries, the amount of territory governed from Constantinople increased dramatically, and the destruction of the Bulgarian state removed a long-standing threat to the Thracian hinterland.⁹ The subsequent loss of the greater part of Asia Minor actually added to the city's population, as Anatolian families and bishops were forced to take up residence there. The ecclesiastical establishment in exile was further swollen after the First Crusade by the refugee orthodox patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem and their households.

Accepting then that the population was roughly of the same order in 1200 as it had been in 500, the question arises how these people were maintained now that the empire had lost, and failed to recover, its richest provinces, notably Egypt, the source of the grain surplus which had fed Constantinople up to the reign of Heraclius. This question was basically answered by John Teall in his article on the grain supply of the Byzantine empire.¹⁰ I have come across no new evidence, and no new interpretations, which affect his basic conclusion that the empire was able to feed its capital out of its own agricultural surplus. The sources reviewed by Teall, and the later evidence with which he was not concerned, confirm that the city depended on the grain production of its Thracian hinterland and of the arable lands around the Aegean Sea. As Michael Choniates put it at the end of the twelfth century, in a famous rhetorical outburst against the élite of Constantinople, 'Are not the grain-bearing fields of Macedonia and Thrace and Thessaly farmed for your benefit? Is it not for you that the grapes of Euboea and Pteleos and Chios and Rhodes are trodden into wine?'¹¹

⁶ This is clear even from a superficial perusal of Janin, *Églises*.

⁷ See in general M.F. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy, c.300–1450* (Cambridge, 1985); A. Harvey, *Economic Expansion in the Byzantine Empire, 900–1200* (Cambridge, 1989).

⁸ See H. Glykatzis-Ahrweiler, 'Recherches sur l'administration de l'empire byzantin aux IXe–XIe siècles', *BCH* 84 (1960), 1–109; M.F. Hendy, 'Byzantium, 1081–1204: The Economy Revisited, Twenty Years On', in idem, *The Economy, Fiscal Administration and Coinage of Byzantium* (Northampton, 1989), no. III, 27–34; J.-C. Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance, 963–1210* (Paris, 1990), *passim*, esp. 191–202; P. Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180* (Cambridge, 1993), chaps. 2–4; and, 'Justice and Finance in the Byzantine State, 9th–12th Centuries', in A. Laiou and D. Simon, eds., *Law and Society in Byzantium, 9th–12th Centuries* (Washington, D.C., 1994), 93–115.

⁹ Att., 234.

¹⁰ J.L. Teall, 'The Grain Supply of the Byzantine Empire, 330–1025', *DOP* 13 (1959), 87–139.

¹¹ Ed. Sp. P. Lampros, *Μιχαήλ Ἀκομινάτου τοῦ Χωνιάτου τὰ σωζόμενα*, II (Athens, 1880; repr. Groningen, 1968), 83.

The problem is not so much where the grain came from, but how it got from the fields of Thrace or Thessaly to the bread baskets of Constantinople. To put it in terms of a crude dichotomy, was the supply process purely commercial, or was it state-sponsored or subsidized? There is no easy answer to this question. While the formal role of the state sector was clearly much reduced in comparison with the later Roman empire, the mention or non-mention of imperial ships, imperial granaries, or imperial officials such as the *komes tes Lamias*,¹² is not in itself a reliable guide to the degree of state involvement. The state was actively involved in the demographic recovery of Constantinople, and in the allocation of resources to support sections of the population. Moreover, the distinctions between Church and state, and between the public and private sectors, were becoming increasingly blurred. If I may briefly synthesize and refine the results of recent discussions,¹³ the basic structure of consumption in medieval Constantinople may be characterized as follows.

Like the ancient city, the medieval city was essentially a consumer society. The main units of consumption were the houses (*oikoi*) belonging to or administered by the 'powerful' (*dynatoi*) of Church and state. The demographic recovery of Constantinople was led by a growth in the consumer capacity of the *oikoi* in the city and its suburbs. The term *oikos* covers a broad range of institutions of varying size, composition and status. On the secular side it can be taken to include everything from the imperial palace down to the household of the lowliest *protospatharius*; on the religious side, it embraces churches, hospitals, old-age homes and monasteries. For present purposes, it is important to emphasize the similarities rather than the differences, similarities which are neatly summed up by St Symeon the New Theologian:

What is the world and the things of the world? Harken! It is not gold, not silver not horses, nor indeed mules; all these things, which minister to the needs of the body, we too acquire. Not bread, not meat, not wine, for we too partake of these and eat sufficiently. Not houses, not baths, not villages or vineyards or estates, for *lavrai* and monasteries consist of such things.¹⁴

All magnate *oikoi* therefore had basic architectural, social and economic features in common. All exercised a degree of social and economic lordship

¹² C. Mango, *Développement*, 54–5; J.F. Haldon, 'Comes Horreorum — Komes tes Lamias?', *BMGS* 10 (1986), 203–9.

¹³ Harvey, *Economic Expansion*, *passim*, esp. chaps.5–6; M. Kaplan, *Les hommes et la terre à Byzance du VIe au XIe siècle* (Paris, 1992), 138–49, 310–59; and, 'Maisons impériales et fondations pieuses: réorganisation de la fortune impériale et assistance publique de la fin du VIIIe siècle à la fin du Xe siècle', *Byz* 61 (1991), 340–64; J.-C. Cheynet, 'Fortune et puissance de l'aristocratie (Xe–XIIe siècle)', in *Hommes et richesses*, II, 199–213; Magdalino, *Empire*, 113ff., 160–71.

¹⁴ *Catéchèses*, ed. B. Krivochéine (Paris, 1963), 440.

which gave them a status somewhere between that of the imperial fisc and that of the private citizen. All were more or less directly dependent on imperial favour. The older charitable institutions were directly administered by the state. All imperial religious foundations from the ninth century onwards enjoyed the same legal privileges as the fisc, and from the mid-eleventh century the same became increasingly true of imperial relatives: all, together with the fisc and the emperor's private estate, may be considered to have constituted the Crown or the state sector. Other large units, notably the Great Church and certain non-imperial monasteries, like the Studios, may be considered to have belonged more loosely to the 'public' sector.

As the passage from Symeon the New Theologian also makes clear, the *oikos* was a unit not only of consumption but of exploitation, exploiting the surplus of the real estate, above all the agricultural land, with which it was endowed. The great *oikoi* were endowed on a massive scale, with large domains not just in the hinterland but throughout the Aegean area and along the west coast of Greece.¹⁵ The endowments were granted by emperors from state land, and thus represented a huge commitment by the state to the maintenance of the capital.¹⁶ When the evidence for the landed endowment of the fisc, the religious *oikoi* of the Crown, the imperial family and the Great Church is added together, it emerges that by the twelfth century a very high and growing proportion of the empire's prime agricultural land was exploited for the benefit of the great houses of Constantinople. In other words, the main consumer units of the capital were in the position of owning the bulk of the land which produced the capital's food, and this was a direct result of government policy over three centuries.

From the above, it is not hard to construct a model of a devolved state food supply, whereby the government shared the responsibility and the necessary resources among the *oikoi*, which then fed themselves and their dependents from the production of their estates. Any surplus would then be put on the market, together with the produce exported by provincial producers, but — according to this model — the commercial market essentially served to supplement the self-sufficiency of the large consumer unit. This model has certain superficial attractions. As Kekaumenos, Michael Hendy and Michel Kaplan have all impressed on us, self-sufficiency (*autarkeia*) was the Byzantine economic virtue par excellence.¹⁷ The state

¹⁵ For references, see Hendy, *Studies*, 87–90, 100–108, and Magdalino, *Empire*, 162–5.

¹⁶ Just how huge is illustrated by the example of the Peribleptos monastery which, according to the description of a painting seen in the church by the fifteenth-century traveller Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, was endowed by Romanus III with thirty *kastra*: see C. Mango, 'The Monastery of St Mary Peribleptos (Sulu Manastir) at Constantinople Revisited', *REA* 23 (1992), 475.

¹⁷ Kekaumenos, ed. B. Wassiliewsky and V. Jernstedt (St Petersburg, 1896; repr. Amsterdam, 1965), 36, 51; Hendy, *Studies*, 565–8; Kaplan, *Les hommes et la terre*, 493–520.

and other Constantinopolitan landlords maintained large stores of grain.¹⁸ We read of Constantinopolitan landlords going in person to supervise the harvest on their estates.¹⁹ We know that they commonly exacted rent at one end, and disbursed salaries or welfare at the other end, in kind as well as in cash.²⁰ We can be sure, even where it is not specified, that monasteries and lay magnates owned the plant and the equipment necessary for transporting and processing food: carts, ships, landing-stages, granaries, mills, bakeries.²¹ In theory, it was possible for a grain of wheat to travel from a field in Thessaly to a dinner table in Constantinople without ever leaving the property of the consumer.

But of every ten grains that arrived in Constantinople, how many actually followed this course? The documentation for the rural economy suggests that rents and taxes were more often than not payable in cash, and *corvées* increasingly commutable to money payments.²² If the urban consumer owned and operated the infrastructure of supply, it is worrying that this has left so little trace in the sources, and in particular that there is no evidence for ships owned by Constantinopolitan, as opposed to provincial, monasteries. Thus beside the model of the absolutely self-sufficient metropolitan *oikos* has to be set that of the urban consumer buying food in Constantinople with money exacted from provincial peasants who had sold their produce on the local market. In this scenario, our grain of wheat changed hands for cash on two occasions on its way from the barn to the bakery.

Both models undoubtedly existed. But which of the two prevailed? Most crucially, which was the more important for the movement of grain by sea? To my knowledge, there is only one source which throws any clear light on the subject. This is Michael Attaleiates, in the two passages of his history where he describes and condemns the 'nationalization' programme adopted by the government of Michael VII Ducas (1071–78). Both passages are of capital importance because they illuminate key aspects of the Byzantine economy which are not documented in any archival material, and they focus on the two most crucial stages in the movement of food from the producer

¹⁸ See, e.g. PG 105.921; John Scylitzes, ed. J. Thurn, CFHB 5 (Berlin–New York, 1973), 277–8; Anna Comnena, II.5.8 (I, 79).

¹⁹ AASS, Mar. III, App., 28, cited by Teall, 'Grain Supply', 124. *Peira* 17.14: JGR IV, 63.

²⁰ Rent: N. Oikonomides, 'Terres du fisc et revenus de la terre aux Xe–XIe siècles', in *Hommes et richesses*, II, 332–4. Disbursement: e.g., Theophanes Continuatus, ed. I. Bekker, CSHB (Bonn, 1838), 430; JGR, I, 623; P. Gautier, 'Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantokrator', *REB* 32 (1974), 77–9, 99ff.

²¹ Ships and landing stages: see below, n.29. Granaries: see above n.17. Mills: Harvey, *Economic Expansion*, 128ff. Bakeries: e.g. 'Sathas Anonymous', ed. K. Sathas, *Mesaiōnikē Bibliothēkē*, VII, 166; P. Gautier, 'La Diataxis de Michel Attaleiate', *REB* 39 (1981), 43, 99; Gautier, 'Pantokrator', 81.

²² Harvey, *Economic Expansion*, chap.3.

to the consumer. Although discussed long ago by Bratianu, and used by every subsequent historian of the Byzantine economy, their full implications have yet to be explored.²³

In the first passage, Attaleiates describes the *phoundax*, or state corn exchange, set up by the logothete Nikephoritzes at Raidestos, the main outlet for Thracian grain.²⁴ Previous to this,

Many carts used to bring the grain to the *kastron* of Raidestos and sell it, dispersing to the hostels (*xenodocheia*) and locations (*katatopia*) of the monasteries and the Great Church itself and many local churches, and they would carry out their sale freely and without hindrance to whoever wished ... And thus through all these people the benefit of abundance proceeded. But the most evil one [Nikephoritzes], begrudging the world its well-being, built a *phoundax* outside the town, and instructed the carts to gather there, ordaining this by imperial writ. And he established a monopoly in corn, that most necessary commodity, with no-one able to buy except from the *phoundax*, that insidious and demonic thing, in fact and in name. For from the moment when it was introduced, abundance departed from the cities, and the anger of the Divinity took a greater hold of the land of the Romans. For no longer, as was formerly the case, did the buyer deal at will with the vendor, and if he didn't like it in one location he would move on to the next and then to another and sales took place from the carts.

The produce was now bought up and stored in the silos of the *phoundax* by the authorized corn dealers, who then tried to sell it at a 200 per cent profit. 'No-one bought from the carts, neither the sailor importing it to the capital city, nor peasant nor townsman nor anyone else; but sale proceeded from the corn-dealers of the *phoundax*, as they and their head, the *phoundakarios*, desired ...' By the various innovations which he introduced, including heavy market tolls (*βαρείας ἀπαιτήσεις ὑπὲρ τῶν τοπιατικῶν*), the *phoundakarios* greatly constricted the process of supply and also raised the price of grain from eighteen bushels per *nomisma* to one bushel per *nomisma*. 'From that point ... *kommerkion* was charged, not only on the grain carts but also on the other commodities that were transported along with the grain. In addition, the inhabitants of Raidestos and the surrounding region were forbidden to sell their own crops in their own homes. All the measures (*medimnoi*) were taken away, and only the *phoundax* had measures in its control.'

Leaving aside for the moment the question of the nature and origin of the *phoundax* as an institution, two points require special clarification. First,

²³ G. Bratianu, 'Une expérience d'économie dirigée, le monopole de blé à Byzance au XI^e siècle', *Byz* 9 (1934), 643–62 [repr. in Bratianu, *Études byzantines d'histoire économique et sociale* (Paris, 1938), 129–81]; Harvey, *Economic Expansion*, 236–8; Kaplan, *Les hommes et la terre*, 468–70.

²⁴ Att., 201–4.

the identity of the vendors. Those who brought their produce in by cart I take to be the peasant producers. Although it is possible that they were free, independent landholders, I think it far more likely that they were *paroikoi* on the great estates in the hinterland of Raideustos — for instance the imperial domains which lay along the road between Raideustos and Adrianople.²⁵ Whether free or dependent, however, they were selling their grain in order to raise money to pay their rents or taxes. As for the town-dwellers who sold grain, these are most likely to have belonged to the 'powerful' class of provincial aristocrats and local religious foundations, such as the hostel established by Attaleiates himself.²⁶

Second, the nature of the *katatopia* where the peasants sold their grain. They clearly had to be spacious enough to accommodate a number of carts and draught animals. I envisage courtyards off the street, or wide loggias fronting the street. And although this is not clear from Attaleiates' description, I presume that the *katatopia* were equipped with measures of the kind possessed by those local landowners who sold their own produce on their own premises. What Attaleiates does make very clear, however, is that the owners of the *katatopia* neither sold grain (unlike the local landowners), nor bought it (unlike the *xenodocheia*), but merely owned the premises where transactions took place between other parties. To me it is inconceivable that they should have made their premises and their equipment available without taking a percentage on sales. Since the owners in question were ecclesiastical, it is reasonable to infer that they were exercising a privilege conceded by the state, comparable to the right to the taxes on fairs and shops, which we know was widely enjoyed by religious institutions. In other words, they had received the right to collect market tolls, the *topiatika* which Nikephoritzes transferred to the *phoundax*. If my argument is correct, the 'innovation' deplored by Attaleiates consisted essentially in the financial deprivation suffered by the former owners, and in the larger cut which the *phoundax*, with its monopoly, was able to take, by raising the *topiatika* and charging *kommerkion* as well.

The second passage occurs in the context of Attaleiates' concluding encomium of the emperor Nicephorus Botaneiates. Among his many beneficent acts, says Attaleiates, Botaneiates rescinded a measure introduced by another of Michael VII's ministers, the metropolitan of Neocaesarea. The background to this measure is described as follows:²⁷

²⁵ Principally the *episkepsis* of Choïrovachi, the *episkepsis* of Tzurulon and Theodoroupolis, the *episkepsis* of Messene, Arcadiopolis, and Boulgarophygon, all listed in Alexius III's chrysobull of 1198 for the Venetians: ed. G.L.F. Tafel and G.M. Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, I (Vienna, 1856; repr. Amsterdam, 1964), 267–8. For Tzurulon cf. Magdalino, *Empire*, 166, 168.

²⁶ See Gautier, 'Diataxis'; P. Lemerle, *Cinq études sur le XIe siècle byzantin* (Paris, 1977), 67–112.

²⁷ Att., 277–8.

On the seashores which girdle the Queen of Cities there are wooden jetties (*proteichismata*) of many years standing, as it were embracing or enfolding the neighbouring sea or resisting its swirling, and providing arriving ships and the merchants of the earth with the facility for anchorage and for the establishment of exchanges. These are called *skalai* in the common dialect. They had various masters, but those who more than any other acquired ownership were the poor-houses and hospitals and the other sacred houses (*euageis oikoi*) and various monasteries, not only in the reigning city itself, but on certain of its suburban coasts. And quite simply, all the foreshores had as owners those who owned them from the land according to ancestral custom and the imperial decrees, which grant the access to the sea to those who are owners on the adjoining land.

Michael VII and the metropolitan of Neocaesarea proceeded to deprive the existing owners of their rights, producing what Attaleiates calls 'obsolete and antiquated justifications'.²⁸ As a prominent lawyer, he should have known, and indeed it is not unlikely that he was involved in drafting the legislation — though of course he does not say so.

This passage offers a unique insight into the nature of both the harbour facilities and the market facilities that were available in medieval Constantinople. It warns us against taking too narrow and compartmentalized a view of either — against thinking solely in terms of designated, strictly localized port areas and commercial quarters. It shows, rather, that maritime traffic and merchandise entered the city at several scattered points along the coast, where much buying and selling was conducted right at the water's edge. Naturally, some parts of the shore were more suitable than others, and one suspects that Attaleiates is thinking primarily of the sheltered waters of the Golden Horn, where the Italians were to receive their landing stages in the Comnenian period, and where the main food market was located under the Palaeologi.²⁹ But the general impression of loose, unstructured development and multiple ownership is certainly confirmed by the Italian documentation, and of course it bears a striking resemblance to the situation in Raidestos. Again, the premises were owned by privileged religious landlords, and again they were used primarily for commercial exchanges between other parties, which is why the government wanted to appropriate the facilities and the dues that were payable. What Attaleiates conspicuously does not say is that the religious houses used the landing stages to unload their own supplies. That the owners valued the *skalai* mainly as

²⁸ In other words, they revived the Justinianic legislation which had been liberalized by Leo VI's Novel 56 permitting the privatization of the seashore. See K. Triantaphyllopoulos, 'Die Novelle 56 Leos den Weisen und ein Streit über das Meeresufer im 11. Jahrhundert', *Festschrift Paul Koschaker*, III (Weimar, 1939), 311–23, and the contribution of G. Dagron to this volume.

²⁹ N. Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires Grecs et Latins à Constantinople (XIIIe–XVe siècles)* (Montreal, 1979), 97ff., 106.

sources of revenue is indirectly confirmed by the later documents relating to the Genoese quarter. The three landing stages granted to Genoa between 1169 and 1202 had all belonged to the monastery of Manuel. The monastery was located near the cistern of Aspar, almost two miles away, and it can hardly have needed the *skalai* for purposes of subsistence. They probably formed part of the financial endowment which Romanus I had settled on the monastery when refounding it between 921 and 944.³⁰

In Constantinople, as in Raidestos, the imperial government was reclaiming its rights to revenues which it had conceded in the past. Attaleiates, having an axe to grind against Michael VII and his ministers, suppressed this fact because it weakened his case. For the same reason, he undoubtedly exaggerated the connection between the *phoundax* and the food shortage in Constantinople under Michael VII — a shortage to which other factors such as civil war must have contributed.³¹ Apart from this partisan distortion, however, it is hard to fault the quality of Attaleiates' information, which was based on first-hand, recent experience. Even if he was not part of the legal team which prepared the case for the 'nationalization' of the landing stages, he was probably responsible for drafting the chrysobull which revoked this measure.³² He was thoroughly acquainted with Raidestos, where the *ptochotropheion* which he had founded was one of the local landowners that suffered from the *phoundax*.³³ Raidestos, as Attaleiates describes it, was probably typical of the main maritime outlets for grain in other parts of the empire — places like Chrysopolis in Macedonia, or Demetrias and, later, Almyros in Thessaly.

All in all, Attaleiates demonstrates beyond doubt that the movement of basic foodstuffs from the provinces to Constantinople was in his day, and had long been, a commercial process. The 'public sector' dominated the consumption of food, and possessed most of the raw resources, but played only a minimal part in the infrastructure of supply. Even though the consumer *oikoi* might own the real estate all along the route, there was apparently no compulsion to cut out the middleman. On the contrary, the system thrived on cash transactions at every stage. Thus I would conclude that on the journey from barn to bread basket, at least six grains of wheat out of ten changed ownership at least twice, generating cash for the peasant

³⁰ A. Sanguineti and G. Bertolotto, 'Nuova serie di documenti sulle relazioni di Genova coll'Impero bizantino', *Atti della Società ligure di storia patria*, 28 (1896–98), 366, 416, 476, 480; Theophanes Continuatus, ed. Bekker, 432–3. On the location of the monastery, see Janin, *Églises*, 321.

³¹ See also Att., 211–2.

³² For the likely involvement of Attaleiates in other legislation by Nicephorus III, see L. Burgmann, 'A Law for Emperors: Observations on a chrysobull of Nikephoros Botaneiates', in P. Magdalino, ed., *New Constantines. The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th–13th Centuries* (Aldershot, 1994), 247–57.

³³ See above, n.25, and Att., 244–6.

to pay his rent or tax, profit for the merchant who transported it for resale, and a steady income for the owners of the corn exchanges and landing stages through which it passed, not to mention the mills and ovens which awaited it at journey's end. That the great *oikoi* of Constantinople usually bought their supplies on the market can perhaps be inferred from Nicetas Choniates' account of the Vlach revolt in 1186. This was triggered when Isaac II decided to levy the animals for his wedding feast from crown estates in the hinterland of Anchialos, rather than to purchase them on the market with state funds.³⁴

The 'nationalization' programme of Michael VII certainly made no difference. The intention here was not to eliminate the market and take over the infrastructure, but to tax it more effectively and also — a point which Attaleiates plays down — to privilege the merchants established in the *phoundax*. This name, deriving from the Greek *pandocheion* via the Arabic *fundūq*, and corresponding to the Italian *fondaco* (Latinized as *fundicus*) implies, above all, a facility for merchants, comprising warehouses and living quarters, and it suggests an institution imported and adapted for use by merchants who traded with the Arabs.³⁵ Given the good relations that existed between Michael VII and Robert Guiscard,³⁶ it is a reasonable guess that the dealers established in the *phoundax* were from Amalfi, the city which for two centuries had operated the main trading network linking the west, Byzantium and the Arab world, and which Guiscard controlled from 1073.³⁷

In any case, the *phoundax* was soon destroyed in a popular revolt,³⁸ and Nicephorus Botaneiates returned the *skalai* to their former owners.³⁹ We cannot be entirely sure that the next emperor, Alexius I, did not take a leaf out of Michael VII's book; his government was badly strapped for cash and highly extortionate, and in 1096 it appeared to the crusaders, at least, to be

³⁴ Nicetas Choniates, ed. van Dieten, 368; cf. Magdalino, *Empire*, 134–5, n.99.

³⁵ For want of a comprehensive study of the institution, see the useful remarks and bibliography in H.M. Willard, 'The *Fundicus*, a Port Facility of Montecassino in Medieval Amalfi', *Benedictina* 19 (1972), 253–61.

³⁶ See H. Bibicou, 'Une page d'histoire diplomatique de Byzance au XI^e siècle. Michel VII Doukas, Robert Guiscard et la pension des dignitaires', *Byz* 29–30 (1959–60), 43–75; V. von Falkenhausen, 'Olympias, eine normannische Prinzessin in Konstantinopel', *Bisanzio e l'Italia. Raccolto di studi in memoria di Agostino Pertusi* (Milan, 1982), 56–72.

³⁷ See M. Balard, 'Amalfi et Byzance (Xe–XII^e siècles)', *TM* 6 (1976), 85–95; V. von Falkenhausen, 'Il Ducato di Amalfi e gli Amalfitani fra Bizantini e Normanni', *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Studi Amalfitani* (Amalfi, 1986), 9–31; A.O. Citarella, 'Merchants, Markets and Merchandise in Southern Italy in the High Middle Ages', *Mercati e mercanti nell'alto medioevo: l'area euroasiatica e l'area mediterranea. Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo* 40 (1993) 239–82.

³⁸ *Att.*, 248–9.

³⁹ *Att.*, 278.

operating a grain monopoly.⁴⁰ The *phoundax* at Raidestos was not the only one, or the last one, of its kind in Byzantium.⁴¹

However, the Venetian, Pisan and Genoese documentation shows that the landing stages were not renationalized as a matter of general policy. Rather, it shows that the Italian traders slotted very easily into a long-established mosaic of privileged property rights beside the Golden Horn. Likewise, the Italian evidence suggests that twelfth-century emperors had no consistent policy of centralizing market facilities in provincial outlets, or of restricting merchant access — Manuel I's coup against the Venetians in 1171 was quite exceptional.

This leads us to consider who were the merchants involved. The documentation for the big three Italian trading republics, and the later predominance of Venice and Genoa, gives the impression that they handled the bulk of food imports. We know that the Venetians imported olive oil and cheese from the Aegean.⁴² We also know that they acquired property at Raidestos, and that all three Italian republics acquired substantial bases at Almyros, which became the main outlet for Thessalian grain in the twelfth century; indeed, the phenomenal rise of this new town coincides with the Italian influx. But it is by no means certain that the big three enjoyed anything like a monopoly. Indeed, in the light of the latest estimates of the size of their operations in Byzantium, it may well be doubted whether they even had the capacity to handle all the imports that Constantinople required.⁴³ There was certainly competition, not only from other Italians such as the Amalfitans,⁴⁴ but also from native Byzantines. We have already alluded to the ships belonging to provincial monasteries, such as the Great Lavra, Patmos, and the Kosmosoteira. The temptation to use these vessels for commercial profit was irresistible, and there was little that the authorities could do about it.⁴⁵ Haris Kalligas and Clive Foss have recently drawn

⁴⁰ Albert of Aix, II.16: *RHC, Historiens occidentaux*, IV, 311. See also the reference to *basilikoi kapēloi* by John Oxiteas, ed. P. Gautier, 'Diatribes de Jean l'Oxite contre Alexis Ier Comnène', *REB* 28 (1970), 31.

⁴¹ In 1152, the Sebastokrator Isaac (II) Comnenus made over to the Kosmosoteira monastery the emporion of Sougdaous μετὰ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ προσκαθημένων παροίκων καὶ ἐνοίκων, τῶν πλοίων τε τοῦ δικαίου τοῦ βασιλικάτου καὶ τοῦ φοῦνδακος: ed. L. Petit, 'Typikon du monastère de la Kosmosotira près d'Aenos', *IRAIK* 13 (1908), 36. By 1197 the Pisans had a *fundacus* at Thessalonica: J. Müller, *Documenti sulle relazioni delle città toscane coll'Oriente Cristiano e coi Turchi* (Florence, 1879 repr. Rome, 1966), no XLIV p. 72.

⁴² Nuovi documenti del commercio veneto nei secoli XI–XIII, ed. R. Morozzo della Rocca and A. Lombardo (Venice, 1953), 11, 14; *Ptochoprodromos*, ed. H. Eideneier, *Neograeca Medii Aevi* 5 (Cologne, 1991), IV.121–2.

⁴³ Henny, *Studies*, 592ff.; idem, 'The Economy Revisited', 26.

⁴⁴ Nicetas Choniates, ed. van Dieten, 552; *The Life of Leontios, Patriarch of Jerusalem*, ed. and tr. D. Tsougarakis (Leiden, 1993), 94–5.

⁴⁵ Harvey, *Economic Expansion*, 233, 238–41.

attention to the existence of other favoured or protected shipowning groups within the empire: the citizens of Monemvasia (where Venice received no trading concessions),⁴⁶ and the Jews of Strobilos in Asia Minor, who were *paroikoi* of the Great Church.⁴⁷ There may have been other such communities — the city of Cherson is a possibility. In this light, the big three Italian maritime republics begin to look like only the tip of the iceberg, the most favoured and best documented of a multiplicity of merchant communities all involved in the provisioning of Constantinople, and forming a support system as diffuse and unstructured as the city itself. The city did not depend on any one group for its provisioning. But if my argument is correct, it did depend very heavily on the enterprise of outsiders. The Byzantine economy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries exhibited both expansionist and stagnatory trends. I would suggest that the contrast was essentially between the *rentier* mentality of the great *oikoi* of Constantinople and the more enterprising seigneurial attitudes of provincial *dynatoi*, or lesser metropolitan *dynatoi* like Attaleiates; between those landlords who lived off the proceeds of distant estates, and those who took a direct interest in the production and marketing of a surplus. It was a contrast which forcibly struck those clerics who left the Great Church of Constantinople to take up the administration of a provincial bishopric. Eustathius was appalled at the way everyone in Thessalonica, most of all the monks, was out to make a profit.⁴⁸ Michael Choniates was understandably more fascinated by the contrast between Constantinople and ancient Athens.⁴⁹ His own provincial roots also made him less blind to the faults of Constantinople. He agreed that both cities were dependent on maritime trade.⁵⁰ But he pointed out that whereas the ancient Athenians had been full of get up and go, the people of Constantinople expected the world to come to them. The wheat, wine, silk and cash of the Aegean world poured into Constantinople, and all that ever came out was wave upon wave of tax-collectors.⁵¹

It is hard not to share Michael Choniates's indignation, or to draw the conclusion that he refrained from drawing: that the Byzantine empire even before 1204 was collapsing under the weight of a grossly distended capital city. But there is a bright side which we tend to overlook. The provisioning of Constantinople stimulated producers and suppliers over a wide

⁴⁶ H. Kalligas, *Byzantine Monemvasia* (Athens, 1990), 65–70.

⁴⁷ C. Foss, 'Strobilos and Related Sites', *Anatolian Studies* 38 (1988), 164–8; repr. in Foss, *History and Archaeology of Byzantine Asia Minor* (Aldershot, 1990).

⁴⁸ See Magdalino, *Empire*, 149–50, 158–9.

⁴⁹ See R. Macrides and P. Magdalino, 'The Fourth Kingdom and the Rhetoric of Hellenism', in P. Magdalino, ed., *The Perception of the Past in Twelfth-Century Europe* (London, 1992), 141ff.

⁵⁰ Ed. Lampros, II, 99.

⁵¹ Michael Choniates, ed. Lampros, II, 82–3.

geographical area, and by the twelfth century it was working without a hitch. There are no records of food shortages or price rises under the Comneni and Angeli. Despite their many troubles and their alleged incompetence, Isaac II and Alexius III managed to hold on to the main grain-producing provinces, and by the time of the Fourth Crusade things were actually looking up for Alexius III. Contrary to received wisdom, Byzantium might not have fallen if it had not been pushed.

CONSTANTINOPLE AND THE "ΕΞΩ ΧΩΡΑΙ" IN THE TIME OF BALSAMON

The question of authority in Byzantium cannot be discussed solely in terms of the hierarchy of Church and State. It must also be considered in terms of the authority, both theoretical and practical, which Constantinople, the New Rome, the βασιλεύουσα πόλις / βασιλις τῶν πόλεων, exercised over the rest of the empire. The ecumenical patriarch was, after all, the bishop of Constantinople, and the emperor was formally legitimised by acclamation and coronation in the city. The legitimacy which Constantinople conferred on imperial power is well illustrated by the speech which Pachymeres puts into the mouth of Michael Palaiologos on hearing of the recovery of the city in 1261. Michael recalled how the empire of Nicaea had, from its small beginnings, gradually reunited many of the territories lost in 1204. "But it was not possible to hold these securely, when the Queen City was missing. If ever we sent an embassy, who did not criticise us for being cityless (ἀπόλισι) and living, of necessity, far from the imperial throne? They said that while we identified our homeland (πατρίς) with the stars, we had no good case for seeking and reclaiming the remaining territories from those who held them."¹

"Byzance, état monarchique par excellence."² One might also add, "état centralisé par excellence." We tend to see the Macedonian dynasty, and especially the reign of Basil II (976-1025), as the high point of Byzantine bureaucratic centralism. But there is also a case for claiming that imperial government was never more centralised than in the Komnenian period (1081-1180). The

¹ George Pachymeres, ed. A. Failler, tr. V. Laurent, *Relations historiques*, I, CFHB 24/1 (Paris 1984) 211; cf. H. Ahrweiler, *L'idéologie politique de l'empire byzantin* (Paris 1975) passim, esp. 111-117.

² N. Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IX^e et X^e siècles* (Paris 1972) 21.

Komnenian empire was a smaller territorial unit than that of the Macedonians had been. More importantly, its military aristocracy identified much more closely with the imperial capital and the imperial family. It is true that the Komnenian regime was in some important respects more feudal than its predecessors. However, its great military magnates did not exercise their lordship on a regional basis, with the partial exception of Adrianople. Between 1100 and 1180 there were practically no rebellions by provincial military commanders. Along with the military centralisation of the state in the hands of the imperial family went a perceptible centralisation of the Church in the hands of the patriarchal clergy; thus the Treaty of Devol (1108) between Alexios I and Bohemond stipulated that the patriarch of Antioch had to be not only a Greek nominated by the emperor, but also ἐκ τῶν θρημμάτων of the Great Church of Constantinople.³

Yet if the twelfth century up to 1180 was one of the peaks of Byzantine centralised government, the period from 1180 to 1204 was undoubtedly one of the troughs. As is well known, by the time the forces of the Fourth Crusade diverted to Constantinople, the empire was already well on the way to becoming a mass of small territorial lordships, some Greek, others ethnic. "Forces centripètes" gave way to "forces centrifuges."⁴ There is obviously a temptation to be content with the explanation set in concrete by Ostrogorsky, namely, that the empire was paying the price for the policy of feudalisation pursued by the Komnenoi, particularly Alexios and Manuel.⁵ However, the leaders of provincial revolts after 1180 were not major beneficiaries of the Komnenian system, with only two exceptions — Isaac Komnenos in Cyprus, and Alexios Branas in Thrace — and of these Branas, at least, was a candidate for imperial power, not for provincial lordship. The magnate families who formed provincial

³ Anna Comnena, *Alexiade*, 13. 12, 20: ed. Leib, III (Paris 1945) 135.

⁴ Ahrweiler, *L'idéologie politique*, 89 ff.; J. Hoffmann, *Rudimente von Territorialstaaten im byzantinischen Reich 1071-1210* (Munich 1974); N. Oikonomidès, *La décomposition de l'empire byzantin à la veille de 1204 et les origines de l'empire de Nicée: à propos de la Partitio Romaniae, XV^e Congrès International d'Études Byzantines*, Rapports et Co-rapports, I; Histoire, 1: Forces centrifuges et centripètes dans le monde byzantin entre 1071 et 1261 (Athens 1976); R. Radić, *Oblasni gospodari u Vizantiji u krajem XII i u prvim decennijama XIII veka*, *Zbor. Rad.* 24/25 (1986) 151-289.

⁵ G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, tr. J. Hussey (Oxford 1968) 374-375, 391-394, 401 ff.

lordships before 1204 are completely unrecorded before 1185. It is more realistic to see the provincial lordships as reactions against the abuses of central government — heavy and uneven taxation — led by those local elements which reflected the ever-permanent limits of central government — the local aristocracy of archontes and dynastai on whom the central government had to rely for support in the localities.⁶ The mechanics of the process have been well studied as far as the sources allow. But the mentality of the process leaves room for further investigation. How did the Byzantines understand the disintegration of their state? More importantly, how did they understand its centralisation? Did their ideas of central authority correspond to those which we bring to bear on the study of their government? What did they mean by calling Constantinople the βασιλεύουσα πόλις? The twelfth-century canonists, especially Balsamon, are key witnesses whose testimony deserves to be invoked.

In the first place, the commentaries are among our most important sources for the theoretical basis of the sovereignty of Constantinople. The idea of Constantinople as the New Rome rested heavily on the authority of two Church Councils: the first council of Constantinople (381), whose third canon had stated that "the bishop of Constantinople is to have seniority of rank, because it [Constantinople] is New Rome;" and the council of Chalcedon (451), whose twenty-eighth canon had ratified and amplified this provision, stating that "the city which had been honoured with the empire and the senate, and has enjoyed equal seniority with the old ruling city, Rome, should be magnified like the latter in ecclesiastical matters as well, since it is second after the latter (δευτέραν μετ' ἐκείνην ὑπάρχουσιν)."⁷ The twelfth-century canonists reflect the constant and controversial use to which these canons were being put, both in "external" disputes with the Papacy, and in "internal" debates concerning the authority of the Patriarch of Constantinople within his own area of jurisdiction.

Aristenos clearly represents the patriotic Byzantine response to the papal claims as this had developed early in the century.⁸ Aristenos introduces two

⁶ M. Angold, Archons and Dynasts: Local Aristocracies and the Cities of the Later Byzantine Empire, *The Byzantine Aristocracy: IX to XIII Centuries*, ed. M. Angold, British Archaeological Reports, International Series 221 (Oxford 1984) 236-253.

⁷ Cf. G. Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale. Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451* (Paris 1974) 54, 277-283.

⁸ See in general J. Spiteris, La critica bizantina del Primato Romano nel secolo XII, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 208 (Rome 1979) Chapter 2.

tendentious glosses. A propos of I Constantinople, canon 3, he comments that Constantinople comes after (μετά) Rome not in a hierarchical but in a temporal sense, being a later foundation — in other words, no difference in seniority is implied (RP II, 176). With regard to Chalcedon 28, he says that the bishop of New Rome is equal to the bishop of Old Rome because of the transfer of power (μετάθεις σκήπτρων) (RP II, 286). The canon, of course, refers not to a transfer but to a sharing of power. Aristenos may be making the translatio retroactive from the end of the western empire in 476; more likely, however he is thinking in terms of the idea that Constantine founded Constantinople as a substitute for the old imperial capital.⁹

Zonaras interprets the canons much more cautiously, and in a sense which is much less favourable to the status of Constantinople. He rejects Aristenos' temporal interpretation of μετά, citing Justinian's Novel 131 to prove his point (RP II, 173-174), and concludes that Constantinople cannot rank equal to Rome — unless, that is, one were to say that the holy fathers of Chalcedon foresaw, through the Holy Spirit, that the church of Rome would one day lapse into heterodoxy and be cut off from the fellowship of Orthodox believers (RP II, 282). It is clear from this that Zonaras in no way subscribes to the topos of Byzantine anti-papal propaganda that Constantinople is superior to Rome because it has the empire and the senate. Although in his History he refers to a transfer of empire by Constantine,¹⁰ he makes nothing of this in his canonical commentaries. Here he not only says nothing about a μετάθεις σκήπτρων, but in a remarkable aside, he observes that the βασιλεία of Constantinople has now been transformed into tyranny (τυραννίς) and the senate (σύγκλητος) has folded up (συγκέκλεισται). In fact, he is all but saying that the ecclesiastical primacy of Constantinople no longer depends on the presence of the empire and senate, but on the Orthodoxy of its beliefs. This negative view of the empire is characteristic of Zonaras — one finds it elsewhere in his commentaries and, of course, in his History.¹¹ It is perhaps an individual and eccentric view. But its author enjoyed a high reputation; even for Balsamon, who disagreed with him profoundly over the relationship of Church and State, he was ὁ ὑπερφυῆς / ὑπερφύεστατος Ζωναράς (RP II, 49; IV, 76). Moreover, the last part of Zonaras' commentary on Chalcedon 28 probably does echo a substantial body of

⁹ Cf. Alexiade, 1. 13, 4: ed. Leib I, 48.

¹⁰ Zonaras III, ed. Th. Büttner-Wobst (Bonn 1897) 19.

¹¹ Ibid., 14-15, 732-733, 766-767; cf. P. Magdalino, Aspects of Twelfth-Century Byzantine Kaiserkritik, *Speculum* 58 (1983) 329-331.

opinion in the twelfth-century church. Commenting on the clauses concerning the ordination of metropolitans subject to the see of Constantinople — i.e. those in the dioceses of Pontos, Asia and Thrace — Zonaras interprets these as a conscious attempt on the part of the council to limit the patriarch's power of appointment, and to safeguard the rights of local metropolitans and the synod of Constantinople. This interpretation is reminiscent of the treatises written in the eleventh century by metropolitans opposed to patriarchal interference.¹² It is possible, therefore, that Zonaras was taking sides in a new phase of the struggle between the patriarchal clergy and the provincial members of the Synod.

At any rate, Balsamon goes to the other extreme. He accepts Zonaras' point that *μετά* means 'after' in a hierarchical sense, and therefore confirms the primacy of Old Rome. Otherwise, however, he goes way beyond Aristenos in twisting the canons to Constantinople's advantage. Aristenos and Zonaras had both accepted that canon 28 of Chalcedon, in defining Constantinople's area of jurisdiction as the dioceses of Pontos, Asia and Thrace, implicitly reserved Greece and Illyricum to Rome. Balsamon, however, asserts that, "under the name of Thrace are included all the metropolitan sees as far as Dyrrachion," and he refuses to allow that the Pope ever ordained bishops in Illyricum (RP II, 284-285). Balsamon's commentaries on the canons themselves have also to be read in conjunction with three other pieces where he develops the same theme: his commentary on Nomokanon 8.1, where he gives a Greek version of the *Constitutum Constantini* (RP I, 144-149) and his treatises on the office of chartophylax and on patriarchal privileges (RP IV, 539-540, 553). All four passages basically add up to a single argument: the conciliar canons entitle the see of Constantinople to all the privileges which Constantine had supposedly bestowed on the Papacy. In Balsamon's own words, "As a Constantinopolitan par excellence (*Κωνσταντινουπολίτης ἀκραιφνέστατος*), and having become, by the grace of God, a most vital part of the most holy throne of Constantinople, I desire and I pray that the bishop of Constantinople may have without scandal all the privileges which have been bestowed on him by the divine canons" (RP II, 285-286).

Κωνσταντινουπολίτης ἀκραιφνέστατος. This remark is the key to understanding the outlook of all the canonists, for despite their differences, they all

¹² Ed. J. Darrouzès, *Documents inédits d'ecclésiologie byzantine* (Paris 1966) nos. 1-4; cf. P. Karlin-Hayter, Constantinople: Partition of an Eparchy or Imperial Foundation?, *JÖB* 30 (1981) 1-24.

looked at the empire from the one point perspective of Constantinople. Aristenos, who served briefly as prator of Hellas and the Peloponnese, was probably the most travelled of the three.¹³ Zonaras tells us in his history that he is writing it as a monk on an island "in this place at the ends of the earth" (παρὰ τῆ ἔσχατιᾷ ταύτῃ), "far from the city" (πόρρω τοῦ ἄστεως), where he suffers from a severe shortage of books.¹⁴ In some manuscripts the title refers to him as a monk of Hagia Glykeria, a monastery on one of the Princes Islands. It has been objected that this island, which belonged effectively to the outer suburbs of Constantinople, could hardly be described as an ἔσχατιά.¹⁵ But it may well be that the Princes Islands were indeed the ends of the earth as far as Zonaras was concerned. As for Balsamon, neither as deacon of the Great Church nor as titular patriarch of Antioch was he required to leave the capital. He mentions one journey outside Constantinople, when he put up for the night at a village called Kalotychada in the Thracian Chersonese, and had occasion to observe a local custom of which he disapproved (RP II, 355-356). Apart from this, all the specific contemporary examples which he cites are drawn either from Constantinople itself, or from provincial cases which came before the synod, and his more general information on provincial society is of a kind which could easily have been provided by visitors to the capital.

To his credit, however, Balsamon does make a point of drawing attention to what went on outside Constantinople. His comments offer a unique insight, both into the way that he and his milieu perceived provincial realities, and into the great contrasts that existed between the provinces and the metropolis.

We may begin by considering the example quoted above. Balsamon, Κωνσταντινουπολίτης ἀκραιφνέστατος and deacon of the Great Church, stays the night at a country village. It is Easter. Suddenly he sees "peasant creatures, female and male" (χωρτικὰ γύναια καὶ ἀνδράρια) bearing Easter bread, smoked meats and various other foods. Surprised, he asks what is going on. He is told that the people are taking gifts for the priest who is administering the Eucharist — "otherwise it is not possible to approach the priest and partake of the sacrament." Balsamon tells them off then and there (καὶ τότε ἐμεμψάμην)

¹³ See J. Darrouzès, *Georges et Démétrios Tornikès, Lettres et discours* (Paris 1970) 53-57; W. Hörandner, *Theodoros Prodromos, historische Gedichte* (Vienna 1974) 466-467.

¹⁴ I 3-4, II 297-298.

¹⁵ K. Ziegler, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 2nd series, vol. 10A, 722.

for this practice that he has not encountered before. Much later, on reading canon 23 of the Council in Trullo, he is pleased to discover that he was right.

In the same context, we may quote his commentary on canon 63 of the Council in Trullo which ordered the burning of "martyrologia falsely concocted by the enemies of the truth." Balsamon gives a contemporary example of the correct procedure. "The most holy late patriarch Nikolaos Mouzalon, finding that the Life of St. Paraskeve, who is honoured in the village of Kallikrateia, had been written by some peasant in an amateurish way unworthy of the saint's angelic life-style (παρά τινος χωρίτου ιδιωτικῶς καὶ ἀναξίως τῆ ἀγγελικῆ διαγωγῆ τῆς ἀγίας) ordered it to be consigned to the flames and instructed the deacon Basilikos to write up her life pleasing to God" (RP II, 453). The canon seems to have envisaged works that were false in content. The Life that the patriarch had burned was evidently considered false not because it told lies, but because it was not written in the style to which the clergy of the Great Church were accustomed.

In these two examples, we already begin to get an impression of life in Constantinople as a norm to which the rest of the empire fails to conform. This impression is reinforced by several passages where Balsamon more explicitly contrasts the situation in Constantinople with the situation in what he calls the ἔξω χῶραι.

In his scholion to Nomokanon 10.8, he writes, "we allow whole towns and villages of Bogomils to go astray and to die in their heresy; but if we find just one such heretic who happens to be staying in the capital, we punish him severely" (RP I, 246).

Commenting on canon 41 of the Council in Trullo, which insisted that would-be recluses (ἔγκλειστοι) had to undergo a trial period of four years, Balsamon notes that "in the ἔξω χῶραι, it's no sooner said than done (ἀμ' ἔπος ἀμ' ἔργον), and whoever wants to goes into seclusion without the bishop's permission and the customary ritual" (RP II, 404).

With regard to canon 62 of the same council forbidding the celebration of Kalandai and Brumalia, Balsamon comments: "Another such outlandish festival of this kind (τοιαύτη πανήγυρις ἀλλόκοτος) is the so-called Rousalia, which takes place after Easter as a result of bad custom in the ἔξω χῶραι (ἀπὸ κακῆς συνηθείας ἐν ταῖς ἔξω χώραις)" (RP II, 450). In the same context, we may mention his scholion to canon 79, which forbade the celebration of the epilochia of the Virgin with semolina cakes on the day after Christmas. Balsamon

comments, "On account of this, nothing of the kind is now attempted by anyone in this reigning city" (RP II 488), which clearly implies that something of the sort may well go on in other parts of the empire.

Canon 17 of the Second Council of Nicaea reaffirms the Justinianic legislation against the foundation of private oratories (εὐκτήριοι οἴκοι) by people without sufficient funds to maintain them. Commenting on current practice, Balsamon notes the difference between Constantinople, where would-be founders obtained permission from the chartophylax only on production of a written guarantee, and the ἔξω χῶραι on the other hand, where "nothing like this is specified, but any one who wishes is allowed to build oratories without hindrance" (RP II, 627).

There is a common pattern to these four passages. In each of them, Balsamon takes a general rule and distinguishes between Constantinople, where the rule is observed, and the ἔξω χῶραι, where anything goes. Now there are two further passages where, at first sight, the ἔξω χῶραι do not conform to this pattern. Canon 15 of the Second Council of Nicaea forbids clerics to serve in more than one church, though it adds the qualification that "this is to apply in this God-guarded City; in the ἔξω χωρία, because of the shortage of men, the practice may be allowed" (RP II, 620). Balsamon comments, "Today it happens in reverse: in the ἔξω χῶραι, on account of the imperial exemption for clerics there are more priests than churches, and no-one is appointed to two churches."¹⁶ In the reigning city, on the other hand, the majority are appointed not only to two but even to three churches." Here, unusually, it is the canon itself that introduces the distinction between Constantinople and the provinces, and one might plausibly suggest that this text was the source of Balsamon's use of the expression ἔξω χῶραι — if so, however, the change of word (χωρία) χῶραι) is surely significant. Also unusual, in terms of the pattern we have identified, is the fact that Balsamon has to point out that the distinction now works in favour of the provinces. But it is possible that he makes the point in order to praise imperial policy — this would not be the only instance. He is also, undoubtedly, pointing to the anomaly of the fact that the reigning city now suffers a shortage of clerics, and suggesting that something ought to be done about it. One is reminded of Eustathios of Thessalonica's petition to Manuel I

¹⁶ The reference is to the extensive privileges granted by Manuel I: see E. Papa-
giannē, *Τὰ οἰκονομικὰ τοῦ ἐγγάμου κλήρου στὸ Βυζάντιο* (Athens 1986) 93,
271 ff., esp. 275-276.

on behalf of the city when it was suffering from a water shortage. It is intolerable, says Eustathios, that provincial cities should enjoy the emperor's benefaction while his capital is lacking in such a basic necessity.¹⁷

The other instance where Balsamon uses the expression ἔξω χωῖραι in a different way is his commentary on canon 60 of the Council of Carthage, forbidding Christians to take part in pagan revelries, or to celebrate their own festivals with improper pagan practices (RP III, 465-466).

Balsamon observes, "Just as today, fairs (πανηγύρεις) and dances and even games take place on saints' days, not only in the cities but also in the ἔξω χωῖραι, so, it seems, they were celebrated of old." Here ἔξω χωῖραι refers not to the provinces as opposed to Constantinople, but to the countryside as opposed to the town; moreover, Balsamon is pointing not to a contrast but to a similarity. Again, however, Balsamon's departure from his more usual pattern is explained by the text of the canon itself, which specifies that its prohibition applies both to the towns and to the countryside: τὰ τοιαῦτα κωλυθῆναι καὶ ἐκ τῶν πόλεων καὶ ἐκ τῶν κτήσεων. The interesting point here is not that Balsamon keeps πόλεις in the plural, but that he changes κτήσεις into ἔξω χωῖραι, as if to imply that for practical purposes the countryside and the provinces are identical, and there is only one polis worthy of the name. Indeed, provinciality and rusticity are similarly confused in the previous example we looked at, where the ἔξω χωρία of the canon become ἔξω χωῖραι for Balsamon.

Last but not least in this dossier, we must mention the fourth of the canonical responsa to the patriarch Mark of Alexandria. In answer to Mark's question, "Do the 60 books of the Basilics apply in Egypt?", the canonist replied as follows:

Those who profess an Orthodox way of life, whether they are from the East, from Alexandria, or from elsewhere, are called Romaioi, and are obliged to live according to the laws. However, they are not constrained by the law which says "A Roman man must not be ignorant of the law" (B. 2.4.21). For only the inhabitants of Rome, that is the Queen of cities, which is protected by legal fortifications and is rich in men learned in the law (νομομαθεῖς), are bound by its fetters. They, when they protest ignorance of the law, are not excused, whether they be artisans or vagabonds; even if they are illiterate, they can learn the substance of the laws from their fellow citizens. But those who live

¹⁷ Ed. W. Regel, *Fontes rerum byzantinorum* (St. Petersburg 1892-1917; repr. Leipzig 1982) 127.

outside Rome, peasants, that is, and others, and above all the Alexandrians, can be forgiven if they do not know the civil law.

The responsa to Mark, whatever their authorship,¹⁸ are undoubtedly representative of the time and the milieu to which Balsamon belonged. For comparison, one can turn to Balsamon's treatise on the patriarchal privileges, where he also states the maxim that a Roman must not be ignorant of the law, and adds, misquoting Homer (*Iliad* II.468), that "in this reigning city," men with legal expertise are as thick on the ground as leaves and flowers in springtime (RP IV, 554).

In other words, it was literally one law for Constantinople and another for the rest of the empire. This point is further illustrated by Balsamon's remarks on canon 30 of the Council of Carthage, which provided that a clerical litigant could apply for his case to be relocated if he had reason to fear that its procedure would be hindered by mob violence in his own locality. Balsamon comments, "I think that this has no relevance to the patriarchal courts, because no one can allege fear where the power of patriarchal prestige overrides all use of force (ἔνθα ἡ ἐξουσία τῆς πατριαρχικῆς μεγαλειότητος ὑπερβαίνει πᾶσαν δυναστείαν); but the canon may be taken to apply to ordinary episcopal courts, where, too, the transfer of the judge and the litigants from place to place is easy" (RP III, 382). Balsamon would seem to be thinking of the vulnerability of provincial bishops to the 'lordly authority' (ἀύθεντίαν ἀρχοντικῆν) and 'fiscal violence' (πρακτορικὴν βίαν) of local 'strong men', which, as he notes, drove many a prelate to resign (RP II, 697-698, 711-712; III, 27, 275, 427).

The canonical commentaries of the twelfth century thus add considerable weight and precision to the better-known literary sources for the alienation of Constantinople from the provinces at the time of the Fourth Crusade. Before going on to discuss the significance of the evidence as a whole, it is worth reminding ourselves of what the literary sources have to say about the way Constantinople was perceived from the provincial point of view.

First of all, we may quote the famous letter of Michael Choniates, metropolitan of Athens, written c. 1188-1189 to the protasekretis Demetrios Drimys after the latter's second appointment as praitor of Hellas.¹⁹

¹⁸ For the attribution of at least one version of the text not to Balsamon but to his contemporary John Kastamonites, Metropolitan of Chalcedon, see Κατσαρός, *Κασταμονίτης*, 307-336.

¹⁹ Ed. Sp. P. Lampros, *Μιχαὴλ Ἀκομινάτου τοῦ Χωνιάτου τὰ σωζόμενα*

Michael expresses his deep disappointment that Drimys has not bothered to visit the area to administer justice, but has just stayed at home. How different were the ancient Greeks — energetic, active men who sailed the seas, went on long journeys and braved great dangers in order to enhance the quality of human life.

But you, O tender citizens of Constantinople, you don't even want to emerge from your gates and walls, or to visit your neighbouring and nearby towns, that they may have the benefit of your legal expertise. You send only wave upon wave of tax collectors... to crop the remains of the towns. You people stay at home, feeling complacent, that you are rich in legal knowledge, that you have practised as judges, that you have loved justice and are willing to die on its behalf. Meanwhile the ravaging and pestilential praktores lay waste the towns. What are you lacking in? Are not the grain-bearing plains of Macedonia and Thrace and Thessaly farmed for your benefit? Is it not for you that the grapes of Euboea and Pteleos and Chios and Rhodes are trodden into wine? Do not Theban and Corinthian fingers weave your garments? Do not whole rivers of money empty into the sea of the Queen City? Why should you bother to travel abroad (εἰς ἀλλοδαπήν) and change your customary haunts for strange places, when you don't have to go out in the sun and the rain, and you can enjoy the good things of every place, without any trouble, just by sitting at home...?

After the sack of Constantinople in 1204, refugees from the captured city had ample occasion to discover how much provincials resented them. Michael's brother Niketas records how he and a small group of companions fled to Selymbria, where they found the natives anything but friendly. "The common herd of rustics mocked those of us who were from Byzantion, and unthinkingly called the poverty and nakedness which we had to endure an equalising of status (ἰσοπολιτεία)."²⁰

Less well known than these passages, but equally eloquent, is the riposte which Germanos, patriarch of Nicaea from 1223 to 1240, made to certain detractors who had sneered at his provincial background:

What do they say? That our Patriarch is not one of the well born,

(Athens 1879-1880; repr. Groningen 1968) 81-84; Ahrweiler, *L'idéologie politique*, 92.

²⁰ Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. Van Dieten (Berlin / New York 1975) 593; Ahrweiler, *L'idéologie politique*, 96-97.

nor can those who bore and nurtured him boast of being natives and sucklings of the reigning city? What are you talking about? Are we worthless for this reason, and are they honourable and well born who terminated their mothers' pains in that city? What do you make of the filthy spawn of courtesans and the fruits of adultery, the offspring of slave-girls bought for money, originating perhaps from the Ros or from the descendants of Hagar and the rest of the breeding ground of the nations...? Are these noble and respectable who resemble mules in their racial mixture, and will the soil of Constantinople ennoble them?²¹

I have drawn attention to this passage elsewhere, in a study of Byzantine snobbery.²² Indeed, it might seem in general that all the evidence I have been reviewing has a lot to do with snobbery, with the social superiority of Constantinople, and correspondingly little to do with power and authority. Yet I would submit that the sources we have considered, especially Balsamon, give us a very clear insight into the role of Constantinople as Νέα Ρώμη and βασιλεύουσα πόλις / βασιλῆς τῶν πόλεων. They confirm, I suggest, that these terms still meant to twelfth-century Byzantines what they had meant at the time of Constantinople's foundation; that in the empire of New Rome, as in that of Old Rome, the state, and the law of the state, were essentially identified not with a territory, nor with a people or group of peoples, nor with a ruler or ruling dynasty, but with a city. In other words, the empire was in a very literal sense a city state. Although it could expand to the size of a territorial superpower, it could equally contract to the walls of Constantinople without loss of identity. The ἔξω χῶραι were relevant to its existence only in economic and military terms, except perhaps insofar as they were thought to constitute an association of towns and cities within which Constantinople was the βασιλίς.²³

In presenting this hypothesis, I am not ignoring the prevailing wisdom in Byzantine studies, which stresses the discontinuity between the 'empire des cités' of Late Antiquity and the medieval empire of Constantinople. I do not for one moment wish to deny that the nature of the Roman Empire was thoroughly transformed between the third and the sixth century, and that what still remained of the ancient *polis* was finished off by the catastrophes of the sixth to eighth

²¹ Ed. S. Lagopates, *Γερμανὸς ὁ Β΄ Πατριάρχης* (Tripolis 1913) 282-283.

²² P. Magdalino, *Byzantine Snobbery, The Byzantine Aristocracy*, ed. Angold, 65.

²³ Cf. the conclusions of Dagnon, *Naissance d'une capitale*, 544.

centuries, from which Byzantium emerged as a thoroughly militarised and ruralised autocracy. I merely want to point out that despite these colossal transformations, certain things did not change, but remained inherent in material conditions, in political ideology, in certain enduring institutions, and in the literary culture which the Byzantines inherited from the ancient world and cultivated with increasing sophistication from the ninth century onwards. I also want to suggest that the urban revival of the ninth to twelfth centuries, of which the cultural revival was a symptom, owed more to, and reproduced more of, the ancient pattern than is commonly recognised. What I am saying, in effect, is that in our concern to differentiate medieval Byzantium from the civic world of Late Antiquity, we may be neglecting to differentiate it from the modern states which we regard as models of centralised government, and may therefore tend subconsciously to project on to the Byzantine situation. In some respects, the ancient situation may offer a better model for comparison. Let us briefly consider the four headings which I have just mentioned: material conditions, political ideology, institutions, and literary culture.

Material conditions.

The technology of transport and communications remained basically unchanged. This meant that towns and their regions were often cut off from each other, especially in winter, and consequently had to be self-contained. Constantinople was probably the only city in the empire in the twelfth century which was not normally able to feed itself from its own hinterland — and therefore had to control a larger area in order to survive. But this control was always problematic, and always involved maintaining a delicate balance between supervision from the centre and delegation to local officials. As I said earlier, the Komnenoi maintained this balance as well as, if not actually better than, any of their predecessors. But they maintained it partly by keeping provincial governorships within the extended imperial family, and partly by moving governors around at very frequent intervals, thus preventing them from putting down local roots.²⁴ Continuity and stability in local government were provided by the archontes of the local towns, whose loyalty, as Kekaumenos shows, could never be taken for granted.²⁵ Moreover, the archontes of one particular town, Adria-

²⁴ See, for example, V. Laurent, *Andronic Synadénos ou la carrière d'un haut fonctionnaire byzantin au XII^e siècle*, *REB* 20 (1962) 210-214; Darrouzès, Georges et Dèmètrios Tornikès, 57-62 (Alexios Kontostephanos).

²⁵ Ed. G. G. Litavrin (Moscow 1972) 198-202, 252 ff.; cf. P. Magdalino,

nople, played a vital role in central government. From the early eleventh century, if not earlier, a number of leading military families had been concentrated here. The Komnenoi relied heavily on the services of these families, and intermarried with them. Thus the families of Bryennios, Kourtikios, Vatatzes, Branas, and Lampardas all became part of the imperial kinship group without losing their local roots. The Komnenian regime rested largely on an alliance between the cities of Constantinople and Adrianople, and the breakdown of this alliance in 1187, in the revolt of Alexios Branas, was a decisive moment in the disintegration of the Komnenian empire.²⁶

It is not clear whether the Komnenian emperors granted collective privileges to provincial towns (as opposed to provincial bishoprics). But such privileges were probably well established by the end of the century.²⁷ It is also worth recalling that one highly privileged city, Venice, was technically still subject to the emperor of Constantinople.²⁸ Although a special case, it shows the potential that existed for any city which was beyond the reach of imperial land forces. Cherson in the Crimea, another city accessible only by sea, had periodically enjoyed semi-autonomy,²⁹ and recent work on Monembasia has shown that this may have been a comparable case.³⁰

Honour among Romaioi: the framework of social values in the world of Digenes Akrites and Kekaumenos, *BMGS* 13 (1989) 213-215.

²⁶ Angold, *Archons and Dynasts*, 242-243; for the prosopography of the marriage ties, see the genealogical table, and appropriate entries, in K. Barzos, *Ἡ γενεαλογία τῶν Κομνηνῶν* I-II (Thessaloniki 1984). On the revolt of Branas, see Niketas Choniates, 376 ff., esp. 378; C. M. Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West 1180-1204* (Cambridge, Mass. 1968) 80 ff. The revolt not only revived the confrontation between Constantinople and the provincial military, but also fatally disrupted the imperial effort to crush the rebellion of Peter and Asan.

²⁷ Cf. Magdalino, *Honour among Romaioi*, 214 n. 42, but for a more cautious assessment, see Angold, *op. cit.*, 224.

²⁸ See in general, D. M. Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice* (Cambridge 1988).

²⁹ Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig 1883; repr. Hildesheim 1980) I, 378-379; Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, ed. Gy. Moravcsik (Washington D.C. 1967) 184; John Skylitzes, ed. Thurn (Berlin / New York 1973) 277.

³⁰ Haris Kalligas, *Byzantine Monemvasia. The Sources* (Monemvasia 1990) *passim*, esp. 66 ff.; the main source is Isidore of Kiev, ed. Sp. P. Lampros, *NE* 12 (1915) 288-289.

Political ideology.

The basic vocabulary of political ideology remained unchanged from Roman times. The constant references to the capital as Νέα Ῥώμη, βασιλις τῶν πόλεων, βασιλεύουσα πόλις, κοινὴ πατρίς encouraged the notion that the state was an extension of the city. Moreover, imperial encomium constantly stressed the association between emperor and capital. Sometimes Constantinople is referred to as the emperor's δούλη, but it is also characterised as his nurse (θρέπτειρα) and even as his mother.³¹ By the twelfth century, great emphasis is placed on the emperor's birth in the Porphyra, which one text calls the patris of Manuel I.³² The emperor is portrayed as winning victories for the benefit of Constantinople, to make other cities subject to her rule.³³ The victories themselves are sometimes ascribed to the agency of the Theotokos, the divine protectress of Constantinople.³⁴ This reminds us that cities still had their local 'deities' in the form of patron saints, whose cults were expressions of local patriotism, and, in a large provincial city like Thessalonica, could foster a sense of independence from Constantinople. The people of Thessalonica never forgot that it was St. Demetrios, not the emperor, who had saved them from the Avars and Slavs.³⁵

To return to Constantinople, however, the point to note is that *laudes Constantinopolitanae* were hardly less important than *laudes regiae* in the rhetoric of Byzantine political ideology — they have even been studied as a literary genre in their own right.³⁶ In mentioning this genre, we should also not neglect to mention the genre which formed the other side of the coin, that of patriographic literature. As Professor Dagron has shown, patriographic authors were obsessed with the pre-Roman and pre-Constantinian roots of Constantinople in ancient Byzantium. Here, even more than in official literature, the polis was the focus of attention, and "le grand absent, c'est l'empire."³⁷

³¹ Prodrornos, ed Hörandner, no. 5, lines 39, 41; no. 9b, lines 2, 20; no. 17, line 129.

³² P. Gautier, *Michel Italikos, Lettres et discours* (Paris 1972) 278.

³³ Prodrornos, ed. Hörandner, no. 5, ll. 1-10; no. 10b, l. 5; no. 19, ll. 196-197.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 4, ll. 157-158; no. 8, ll. 145-172; Manganeios Prodrornos, ed. E. Miller, *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Historiens grecs II* (Paris 1881) 743.

³⁵ See R. Macrides, *Subversion and Loyalty in the Cult of St. Demetrios, ByzSl* 51 (1990) 189-197.

³⁶ E. Fenster, *Laudes Constantinopolitanae* (Munich 1968).

³⁷ G. Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire. Etudes sur le recueil des Patria* (Paris

Institutions.

The formal civic structure of ancient Rome was preserved in the senate, the demes and the guilds of Constantinople. Although usually reduced to a ceremonial role, these bodies could become prominent and even powerful under a weak emperor or in times of civil war.³⁸ Byzantines were attached to them because they represented tradition. Zonaras was particularly attached to the senate, which he evidently regarded as essential to the legitimate identity of the state. Despite all the changes that the senate had undergone in its long history, it remained true to its origins in one fundamental respect which made Byzantium unique among medieval monarchies: it was both an imperial aristocracy and an urban patriciate.

Another survival from Old Rome, which underlined the special status of the capital as an overgrown city-state was the legal definition of the city's territory as extending to a hundred-mile radius. According to the Peira, this definition had, until the reign of Basil II, allowed the peasants of the area in question to evade the restrictions on sale of land (Peira 51.7; cf. B. 6.4.2.4).

Even more important, perhaps, than these secular survivals were the relics of the civic world of Late Antiquity which were preserved in the constitution of the Church. Through its innate conservatism, and its persistent adherence to the tradition of the early councils, the Church retained much of the administrative structure and the political geography of the Later Roman empire. The ecclesiastical provinces of the medieval Byzantine Church still largely corresponded to the imperial provinces of the fourth and fifth centuries. The structure of authority which bound the metropolitan bishops of these provinces to their own suffragans on the one hand, and to the patriarch of Constantinople on the other, still largely reflected the 'empire des cités' of Late Antiquity, in which Rome and Constantinople had presided over a federation of self-governing *poleis*. The Byzantine bishop was more than merely the spiritual equivalent of the imperial governor. Theoretically, he was wedded to his see for life and had to reside in it permanently. Whatever his rank, he alone had the right to preside over ecclesia-

1984) *passim* and 19.

³⁸ H.-G. Beck, *Senat und Volk von Konstantinopel*, *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Philologisch-historische Klasse (1966) [repr. in idem, *Ideen und Realitäten in Byzanz* (London 1972)]; Sp. P. Vryonis Jr., *Byzantine ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ and the Guilds in the Eleventh Century*, *DOP* 17 (1963) 289-314 [repr. in idem, *Byzantium: Its Internal History and relations with the Muslim World* (London 1976)].

stical business within his diocese. He was not primarily the agent of central government, but the representative and spokesman of his local Christian community. All of this made him, paradoxically, the last relic of ancient civic autonomy.³⁹

Literary culture.

Much of the literature which the Byzantines studied and imitated had been produced in the environment of the ancient *polis*. The *polis* thus provided much of the terminology in which they wrote about their own public affairs. Of course they did not necessarily stop to reflect whether the language fitted the reality. But by the twelfth century, some clearly did. One may instance the history of Zonaras, the commentary on Aristotle's *Rhetorica* by Stephen Skylitzes,⁴⁰ and Eustathios of Thessalonica's commentary on the *Iliad*.⁴¹ Reading these and other twelfth-century works, one is left in no doubt that educated Byzantines had a good working knowledge of, and considerable sympathy for, the city-state constitutions of antiquity.⁴² Although their favourite literary models were the authors of the Second Sophistic — i.e. of the Roman imperial period — their attention was coming to focus more and more on the classical phase of ancient civilization. Zonaras was interested in the *republican* origins of the Roman Empire; it was *classical* Athens which Eustathios and Michael Choniates admired.

Each of the factors I have named was not, perhaps, in itself decisive. But in combination, I would argue, they prevented the Byzantine idea of state authority from breaking the conceptual mould of the ancient city-state. In closing, I would

³⁹ Beck, *Kirche*, 27-31, 69-73; J. Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia* (Cambridge 1981) 73-78.

⁴⁰ *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, XXI/2 (Berlin 1896) 269; for the author and date, see W. Wolska-Conus, A propos des scolies de Stéphane à la Rhétorique d'Aristote: l'auteur, l'oeuvre, le milieu, *Actes du XIV^e Congrès International des Études Byzantines* III (Bucharest 1976) 599-606.

⁴¹ M. van der Valk, *Eustathii archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes* I (Leiden 1971) 308-309, 437-438.

⁴² For further discussion see my *Aspects of Twelfth-Century Byzantine Kaiserkritik*, 342 ff.; R. Macrides and P. Magdalino, *The Fourth Kingdom and the Rhetoric of Hellenism*, in: *The Perception of the Past in Twelfth-Century Europe* (London 1992).

simply point out that the combination does not exist only in my mind. The factors I have identified came together very concretely in the careers of the men who provide much of our source-material, and were among the most prominent voices of religious and political Orthodoxy in twelfth-century Byzantium. I refer, of course, to the higher clergy, and especially to that long series of literary bishops beginning with Theophylact of Ochrid and culminating in Eustathios, Michael Choniates and John Apokaukos. These men, if not all *Κωνσταντινουπολίται ἀκραιφνέστατοι* by birth, were all *ἐκ τῶν θρεμμάτων* of the Great Church of Constantinople. As such, all were well educated, and some had taught in the so-called 'patriarchal school': thus, they had been through the *ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία*, and had gone on to study rhetoric and philosophy in greater depth. All had made their way through the system by composing and reciting orations in honour of the emperor and patriarch — in other words, they were expert propagandists of the ideology of New Rome. Their outlook on the provinces was very much the metropolitan myopia which we encountered in Balsamon. Yet suddenly they found themselves removed to the *ἔξω χῶραι* for the rest of their days. Inevitably, they took with them the viewpoint they had acquired from their previous life and education. They complained of living in exile, and saw it as their duty to impose their own high moral and cultural standards on their semi-barbarous, recalcitrant flocks. To this extent, they constituted a propaganda network for the authority of New Rome. At the same time, however, they used their formidable literary powers to appeal to local patriotism, and to lobby on behalf of their churches and their flocks. In this way they undoubtedly did much to bridge the gap between Constantinople and the *ἔξω χῶραι*. But they did so, it seems to me, by reinforcing the notion that the empire was an association of *πόλεις* within which Constantinople was the *βασιλεύουσα πόλις*, a collection of *πατρίδες* within which Constantinople was the *κοινὴ πατρίς*.⁴³ Nothing in their background, or in their writings,

⁴³ Theophylacte d'Achrida, *Discours, traités, poésies*, ed. P. Gautier (Thessaloniki 1980) 205, 227, 235-37. Eustathios, ed. Regel, loc. cit. (above, n. 17); ed. T. L. F. Tafel, Eustathii, *Opuscula* (Frankfurt 1832; repr. Amsterdam 1964) 219 lines 61-85; Michael Choniates, ed. Lampros I, 162, 177 (cf. Niketas Choniates, ed. van Dieten, 330). Also Zepos, *Jus* I, 409: *ἐν πόλει καὶ ταῦτα ταύτη, πασῶν μὲν προκαθημένη τῷ τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας στέμματι τε καὶ διαδήματι, νόμοις δὲ κατὰ πᾶν διεξαγομένη καὶ εἰς κοινὸν προκειμένη τῆς εὐνομίας πᾶσιν ὑπόδειγμα*. For Constantinople as *κοινὴ πατρίς*, cf. B. 38.1.6.11-12; 60.54.17; *Ecloga Basilicorum*, ed. L. Burgmann (Frankfurt 1988) 268; Heraclius, *Novella* 2, ed. J. Konidaris, *Die Novellen des Kaisers Herakleios*, *FM* 5 (1982) 74.

suggests that they conceived of the state as a large, integrated territorial unit. The paradox of the Byzantine empire in the twelfth century is that it did form an integrated territorial state in real — that is in military and fiscal — terms, and in the minds of emperors and soldiers, yet this state did not exist in the minds of the men who formed its intelligentsia and formulated its ideology. In a curious way, Balsamon and his contemporaries Eustathios and Michael Choniates were as symptomatic as their other contemporaries, Leo Sgouros and Theodore Mangaphas, of the failure of central authority which affected the generation of 1204.

Constantinople and the Outside World

In a couple of rare autobiographical asides, the twelfth-century chronicler John Zonaras complains that he is having to write his history of the world 'in this place at the back of beyond' (παρὰ τῆ ἔσχατιᾶ ταύτῃ), where he suffers from an acute shortage of books.¹ According to the title of the work in some manuscripts, the author was a monk of Hagia Glykeria. The straightforward reading of this information has met with some incredulity because it means that the back of beyond was a small island, one of the Princes' Islands, in the Sea of Marmara, a short sea journey from Constantinople. Today the island is the well-appointed summer retreat of a wealthy Turkish industrialist, and in Byzantine times it was the site of a 'posh monastery', re-founded about 1100 by a high-ranking aristocrat, and served by an *hegoumenos*, Joseph, who went on to become abbot of the Pantokrator monastery.² Hagia Glykeria had also received a substantial endowment from one Naukratios Zonaras, possibly the father of John the chronicler; in any event, the latter was working in a suburban monastery with family connections. It was hardly the 'back of beyond'. We can explain his words as the rhetoric of exile,³ we can also point to the reality of exile suffered by many Byzantines who were banished to the Princes' Islands in political disgrace; and we can point to modern examples of islands near big cities which are places for the isolation of undesirables. But when we have done everything to get Zonaras's notion of the 'back of beyond' in proportion, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that it is what it appears to be: a reflection of the Byzantine equivalent of

¹ John Zonaras, *Epitomae historiarum*, M. Pinder and Th. Büttner-Wobst, eds, 3 vols (Bonn, 1841–184, 1897), I, 3–4; II, 297–298.

² C. Mango, 'Twelfth-Century Notices from Cod.Christ Church Gr. 53', *JÖB*, 42 (1992), 221–228; C. Mango, 'Introduction' in C. Mango and G. Dagron, eds, *Constantinople and its Hinterland* (Aldershot, 1995), 2.

³ Cf. M.E. Mullett, 'Originality in the Byzantine Letter: The Case of Exile', in A.R. Littlewood, ed., *Originality in Byzantine Literature Art and Music* (Oxford, 1995), 39–58.

the attitude caricatured in the cartoon of the *New Yorker's* view of the world, where New Jersey gives way to the Mid West beyond a Hudson River that is definitely on the edge of civilization. Other writers of the period contain little that qualifies, and much that confirms, this literal reading. John Tzetzes lumps ethnic foreigners together with Greeks from the Aegean islands as undesirable aliens.⁴ Bishops and government officials always want to be back in Constantinople and not where they happen to be posted. It is bad for a monastery to be rich in Thessalonike, Archbishop Eustathios tells the people of that city, but good in Constantinople, because they do things properly there.⁵ Theodore Balsamon, the canonist, agrees, being, in his own words, 'a Constantinopolitan through and through' (Κωνσταντινουπολίτης ἀκραιφνέστατος).⁶ In his canon law commentaries, he repeatedly distinguishes between Constantinople, where people know and keep the rules, and the 'outer territories' (ἔξω χώραι), where anything goes, including heresy.⁷ Three writers of the generation of 1204 – Michael Choniates, Niketas Choniates, and the patriarch Germanos II – have left an unforgettable picture of smug Constantinopolitans assuming that the world owes them a superior living just because Constantinople is 'the place to be, and to be born.'⁸

Altogether, there is a fairly impressive body of twelfth-century evidence that for a powerful consensus of opinion, the Byzantine outsider was someone who did not belong in Constantinople, for whatever reasons people who did belong in Constantinople chose to name. The statements of Constantinopolitan exclusiveness are supported by the further consideration that the constitutional and ideological role of Constantinople within Byzantium far exceeded that of any capital city or

⁴ P.A.M. Leone, ed., *Ioannis Tzetzae historiae* (Naples, 1968), Chiliad XIII, 359ff.

⁵ T.L.F. Tafel, ed., *Eustathii metropolitae Thessalonicensis opuscula* (Frankfurt am Main, 1832), 230–231, 237, 262.

⁶ G.A. Rallis and A. Potlis, eds, *Σύνταγμα τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων*, 6 vols (Athens, 1852–1859), II, 285–286. Hereafter, Rallis-Potlis.

⁷ Rallis-Potlis, I, 246; II, 404, 450, 620, 627. On this and the sources cited in the following notes, see P. Magdalino, 'Constantinople and the ἔξω χώραι in the time of Balsamon', in N. Oikonomides, ed., *Byzantium in the 12th Century: Canon Law, State and Society* (Athens, 1991), 179–197; P. Magdalino, *Tradition and Transformation in Medieval Byzantium* (Aldershot, 1991), nos I and VII.

⁸ Michael Choniates, *Μιχαὴλ Ἀκομινάτου τοῦ Χωνιάτου τὰ σωζόμενα*, Sp. Lampros, ed., 2 vols (Athens, 1879–1880), I, 82–84; Niketas Choniates, *Niketae Choniatae historia*, J. van Dieten, ed., 2 vols (Berlin and New York, 1975), I, 593; S. Lagopatis, ed., *Γερμανός ὁ Β' πατριάρχης* (Tripolis, 1913), 282–283.

metropolis in almost any other territorial state. It was the status of Constantinople as the New Rome which made it legitimate for Byzantines to call themselves *Romaioi* and their state *Romania*. For both these identities, Constantinople was the fixed point on the map, more fixed than any frontier, the peg from which all definitions hung⁹ – at least until 1204, when Constantinople under Latin occupation became the outsider to *Romaioi* associated with the Byzantine governments in exile. The equivalence of the city with the state was further reinforced by the legal definition, transferred to Constantinople from Rome, of the capital as the ‘common homeland’ (κοινή πατρις) of all imperial subjects,¹⁰ and by the designation of ‘reigning city’ (βασιλεύουσα πόλις/*urbs regia*), or ‘queen of cities’ (βασιλις τῶν πόλεων), which was commonly applied to it.¹¹ This expression implied not only that Constantinople was the greatest city in the world, but also that it was sovereign by virtue of its role in validating imperial power. An emperor was not emperor until he had been acclaimed in Constantinople. An eleventh-century author famously declared, ‘The emperor in Constantinople always wins’,¹² and twelfth-century panegyrics represent the emperor winning victories on behalf of the City, his mother, and subjecting reconquered towns in Asia Minor to her yoke.¹³

All Byzantines were *Romaioi*, but Constantinopolitans were more Byzantine than the rest. But who truly belonged inside Constantinople? Who or what was typically, quintessentially and unambiguously Constantinopolitan? For Tzetzes, it was not the fashionable holy men about town – they were all foreigners and provincials.¹⁴ For Alexios I Komnenos, as represented by Niketas Choniates, it was not his noble, learned son-in-law, the Caesar Nikephoros Bryennios, because this fellow was a Macedonian – that is, his family were from Adrianople.¹⁵ For the

⁹ See D. Olster, ‘From Periphery to Center: The Transformation of Late Roman Self-Definition in the Seventh Century’, in R.W. Mathisen and H.S. Sivan, eds, *Shifting Frontiers in Late Antiquity* (Aldershot, 1996), 93–101.

¹⁰ *Digest* 48.22.18, 27.1.6; Heraclius, Novel 2, J. Konidaris, ed., ‘Die Novellen des Kaisers Herakleios’, *Fontes Minores* 5 (1982), 74.

¹¹ Cf. G. Dagron, *Naissance d’une capitale. Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451* (Paris, 1974), 53.

¹² Kekaumenos, *Strategikon*, B. Wassiliewsky and V. Jernstedt, eds (St Petersburg, 1896; repr. Amsterdam, 1965), 74.

¹³ Theodoros Prodromos, *Historische Gedichte*, W. Hörandner, ed. (Vienna, 1974), nos IV.157–158, V.1–10, VIII.145–172, Xb.5, XIX.196–197.

¹⁴ See above, note 3.

¹⁵ van Dieten, ed., I, 6.

detractors of the patriarch Germanos II, he was of lowly birth because he had not been born in Constantinople. Yet, as the patriarch pointed out, the natives of Constantinople included many illegitimate half-breeds, spawned by adulterous liaisons with Russian and Turkish slave girls. 'Are these persons, who resemble mules in their racial mixture, well born and respectable, and will the soil of Constantinople ennoble them?'¹⁶

All the people labelled as outsiders in the above remarks clearly regarded themselves, and were accepted by their friends, as insiders. Constantinople was the place to be because it was the place where outsiders became insiders. This is exactly how the author of the *Vita Basilii* describes the career début of the young Basil the Macedonian, the country boy from Adrianople who went on to found a successful imperial dynasty:

Since a living from agriculture seemed petty and mundane to him, he decided to go to the reigning city and display his virtue, and thus to procure the necessities of life for himself and his family, and provide patronage for their great benefit. For he knew that in big cities, and especially royal capitals, talents flourish and men who stand out in any way receive recognition and advancement, whereas in undistinguished, obscure towns, as in village society, virtues fade and waste away, and, consumed by lack of opportunity for display or admiration, wither away to extinction.¹⁷

Michael Attaleiates explicitly presents his life as a conversion from outsider to insider status through immigration to Constantinople. He had given up his inheritance in his home town (no doubt Attaleia) in order to acquire an education 'in the metropolis of learning and queen of cities'. With learning he had acquired prosperity, in spite of everything that counted against him, 'especially the fact of being of alien race' (ἡ τοῦ γένους ἀπαλλοτριώσις). He thanked God that he had risen 'from foreign and humble condition' (ἀπὸ ξένης καὶ ταπεινῆς τύχης) to become one of the senatorial aristocracy, a senior judge loaded with public honours. This was due to his studies in grammar, rhetoric and philosophy, and his initiation into the 'sacred mystery of the law'.¹⁸

Only a detailed and exhaustive series of case studies will allow us to create a profile of the typical Constantinopolitan insider, if there was such

¹⁶ Lagopatis, ed. (see above, note 8).

¹⁷ *Theophanes Continuatus*, I. Bekker, ed., CSHB (Bonn, 1838), 221.

¹⁸ P. Gautier, ed. and tr., 'La Diataxis de Michel Attaliate', *REB* 39 (1981), 18–21, 28–31.

a thing. For this, we shall have to await the completion of the Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire. In the meantime, there are three preliminary questions which it is useful and reasonable to consider in the present context. Firstly, what distinguished those visitors to Constantinople who remained outsiders from those who became insiders, at least to their own satisfaction? What were the frontiers which some outsiders managed to cross while others did not? Secondly, was the status of insider to the city merely the construction of naturalized provincials, or did it correspond to the reality of a hard core of indigenous Constantinopolitans? What did it mean to be 'Constantinopolitan through and through', as Balsamon claimed to be? Thirdly, it is important to consider the diachronic dimension of these issues. Is it significant that so much evidence comes from the twelfth century, and that the most extreme statements of exclusiveness date from the years immediately before and after 1204? Was the role of Constantinople as the ultimate in-place a cumulative one which peaked at the moment when its *raison d'être* was temporarily destroyed and forever damaged?

The sources allow us to identify four clear categories of visitors who tended to remain outsiders to the city because of the nature of their business there: litigants and petitioners, pilgrims, diplomats, and the majority of merchants, although there were always merchants who stayed on, particularly with the growth of the Italian trading concessions in the twelfth century and the formation of a class of foreign residents, the *bourgesioi* or *burgenses*.¹⁹ The last three categories are often noticed because of their interest for the study of urban topography, foreign relations and economic life. The litigants and petitioners receive less attention, although they are frequently mentioned, and they are worth considering here, because they, perhaps more than any others, knew what it was like to be in Constantinople but not to belong there. Lawsuits and petitions were notoriously slow to process, and put provincials and foreigners at a severe disadvantage against residents. Twelfth-century commentators on the *Rhetorica* of Aristotle noted that foreigners, 'for example Egyptians or Corinthians', were regularly cheated, because the perpetrators knew that the victims would not take them to court, 'for a

¹⁹ See most recently A.E. Laiou, 'Institutional Mechanisms of Integration', in H. Ahrweiler and A.E. Laiou, eds, *Studies on the Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire* (Washington, DC, 1998), 171ff.

lawsuit will often not be finished in two years'.²⁰ Like prostitutes, provincial plaintiffs in this plight were repeatedly targeted by philanthropic emperors: Justinian I, Basil I and Romanos I are all said to have made provision for them to be able to stay in Constantinople for the duration of their cases.²¹ In the *Life of Andrew the Fool*, the devil on one occasion assumes the guise of an old woman dossing down in the Hippodrome while her case is being heard.²² Nicholas Mesarites, in his account of the revolt of John Komnenos the Fat in 1200, describes another such unfortunate who joined the insurgents: a monk from the East, who had come to the city and spent a long time there on some necessary business of his monastery. Being of a simple nature, and having used up all the funds he had brought with him, he was wandering the streets with a pouch, begging for his daily sustenance. Lacking accommodation and money, he slept out in the churches, wrapped in a decaying cloak and a habit in complete tatters.²³

Speeding up court cases involving provincials was one of the duties of the *quaesitor*, the magistrate appointed by Justinian in 539 to investigate and repatriate people who had no business in the city.²⁴ The terms of the appointment, as set out in Novel 80, show a concern to halt the drift of immigrants from the provinces, especially from the countryside. A similar concern is evident in Heraclius's novels regulating clerical appointments in the capital; Novel 2, of 617, deplors the fact the numerous churches and other pious foundations of the city are attracting many unknown men from various provinces, villages and trading centres, who had either never received holy orders or had been suspended.²⁵ Yet both these Novels are 'one-off' pieces of legislation, which hardly constitute evidence for a consistent policy of immigration control.²⁶ Does this mean there was no formal barrier to prevent outsiders

²⁰ H. Rabe, ed., *CAG XXI*, 2 (Berlin, 1896), 285; for corrective legislation issued by Manuel I in 1166, see R.J. Macrides, 'Justice under Manuel I Komnenos: Four Novels on Court Business and Murder', *Fontes Minores* 6 (1985), 122–139, 172–182.

²¹ Procopius, *De aedificiis*, I, 11.23–27; *Theoph.Cont.*, 260, 430.

²² L. Rydén, ed. and tr., *The Life of St Andrew the Fool*, 2 vols (Uppsala, 1995), II, 64–65.

²³ A. Heisenberg, ed., *Die Palastrevolution des Johannes Komnenos [Programm des Königlichen alten Gymnasiums zu Würzburg für das Studienjahr 1906/1907]* (Würzburg, 1907), 22.

²⁴ Cf. John Lydus, *De Magistratibus*, III.70.

²⁵ Konidaris, ed., 74.

²⁶ The repetition of the legislation on the *quaesitor* in the ninth-century *Eisagoge* (*Epanagoge*), 5 (where he is confused with the *quaestor*) is not, in my opinion, a reliable indicator.

from becoming insiders? Several texts represent their protagonists as simply moving to Constantinople without introduction or invitation. Basil I is again the most famous case in point; one might also mention Leontios of Jerusalem, who wandered to Constantinople from the Strymon valley, took the tonsure in a suburban monastery, then entered the city as 'a stranger among strangers and a foreigner to the city, a foreigner to the citizens and ignorant of urban ways'.²⁷ Yet both Basil and Leontios went on to make their way by finding patrons. In other words, the key to integration was *prostasia*, and other sources suggest that the usual access route for an ambitious young provincial was by way of a household, an *oikos*, to which he had an introduction. St Evaristos,²⁸ St Athanasios the Athonite,²⁹ and St Symeon the New Theologian³⁰ all followed this route. St Nikephoros of Miletos was sent, as a eunuch, by his parents from the Boukellarion theme to Constantinople, where he was taken in by the *patrikios* Moseles, to receive an education and to serve in the household.³¹ This was how it worked towards the top of the social scale. We can only speculate as to how it worked lower down – how the workers and artisans of Constantinople got there if they were not born there. It was presumably possible for outsiders to turn up and find work. But I would suggest that the aristocratic *oikos*, again, was the medium by which outsiders became insiders: that a large proportion of the common people originated with household slaves. Not only did slave girls have a habit of getting pregnant, but masters commonly freed their slaves in their wills and granted them small legacies. The case of the widow Zoe Pakouriane, whose will of 1098 is preserved in the archives of Iviron, is probably not untypical. She left legacies of money, clothes and animals to nineteen freed slaves.³² It is not clear where they lived, but the mentions of livestock do not preclude an urban location, since we know that farm animals and beasts of burden were kept inside the city.³³

²⁷ *The Life of Leontios Patriarch of Jerusalem*, D. Tsougarakis, ed. and tr. (Leiden, 1993), 40–41.

²⁸ Ch. van der Vorst, ed., *AB* 41 (1923), 300.

²⁹ J. Noret, ed., *Vitae duae antiquae Sancti Athanasii Athonitae* (Turnhout, 1982), 5, 7–8.

³⁰ Niketas Stethatos, *Vie de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien*, I. Hausherr, ed. and tr. (Rome, 1928), 2–4.

³¹ H. Delehayé, ed., *AB* 14 (1895), 136–137.

³² *Actes d'Iviron*, J. Lefort, N. Oikonomidès, D. Papachryssanthou, eds, II (Paris, 1990), no. 47.

³³ E.g. Attaleiates, Gautier, ed. and tr., 'Diataxis', 28–29; John Tzetzes, P.A.M. Leone, ed., *Ioannis Tzetzae epistulae* (Leipzig, 1972), 31–34.

It is clear that for most of the people mentioned so far, a Constantinopolitan social identity was the construction of a deliberate choice on the part of upwardly and inwardly mobile outsiders for whom destinations counted more than origins. Their attitude was expressed by Stephen, a twelfth-century commentator on the *Rhetorica* of Aristotle, when he defined natives as 'those who are not migrants or colonists from another land, or those who, if they come from another land, have lived in this land long enough to be old-timers and in this respect close to the natives, like those [who are] close to the natives of Constantinople'.³⁴ As a teacher of rhetoric in Constantinople, the author knew whereof he spoke, especially if he is to be identified with Stephen Skylitzes.³⁵ The Skylitzes family were an integral part of the capital's intellectual and bureaucratic élite, but they may have come from western Asia Minor.³⁶ They represented the convergence and fusion of metropolitan and provincial which was typical of Constantinopolitan society. Like all urban populations, that of Constantinople had to replenish itself by immigration – perhaps more than most, since it contained large numbers of monks and eunuchs – but it never consisted entirely of immigrants. Even in 713, at the height of the 'Dark Age' crisis, when senatorial and curial élites were in full decline and an aristocracy of service in the ascendant, the emperor Philippikos Bardanes held a lunch party 'with citizens of ancient lineage' (μετὰ πολιτῶν ἀρχαιογενῶν).³⁷ Several family names associated with the civil bureaucracy and the clergy of the Great Church in the eleventh and twelfth centuries are to be found in Constantinople two or three centuries earlier. Of course, recurrence of names does not necessarily mean continuity of lineage. But I think it is telling that in the mid-tenth century a Zonaras served on the staff of the Prefect of Constantinople,³⁸ and two centuries later three Zonarades held high judicial posts.³⁹ It is also surely more than coincidence that the surname Xylinites recurs in 1056 with the same first name, Niketas, with which it is linked at its first occurrence in

³⁴ CAG XXI, 2, 270.

³⁵ W. Wanda-Conus, 'À propos des scolies de Stephanos à la Rhetorique d'Aristote, l'auteur, l'oeuvre, le milieu', *Actes du XIV^e Congrès international des Études byzantines*, III (Bucharest, 1976), 599–606.

³⁶ Cf. J. Thurn, *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis historiarum*, CFHB 5 (Berlin and New York, 1973), vii.

³⁷ Theophanes, *Chronographia*, C. de Boor, ed. (Hildesheim and New York, 1980), 383.

³⁸ *Theoph. Cont.*, 442.

³⁹ Mango, 'Twelfth-century Notices'; 226–227; P. Magdalino, 'The not-so-secret functions of the mystikos', *REB* 42 (1984); reprinted in Magdalino, *Tradition and Transformation*, no. XI.

719.⁴⁰ The prosopography will allow us to correlate patterns of naming and titlature and give us some idea of numbers. I fear it will never tell us what we would most like to know: how lineages kept going over the long term – their marriage and inheritance strategies, their association with monasteries, their houses and neighbourhoods, their sources of income, their ability to survive political disgrace and loss of office.⁴¹ Yet this information is vital to understanding what held Constantinople together as a community of insiders, the social realities that underlay the rhetoric and the rituals of civic identity. In short, what did Constantinopolitans have in common apart from their access to the imperial court and its satellites? Was there more to the city than the infrastructure of the Palace?

The most we can do at this stage is to identify the factors that made for an accumulation of shared experience and common, exclusive identity. The structural features which made Constantinople the place to be were in place very early, and can be clearly discerned at the city's first peak of prosperity in the reign of Justinian. The best known figures in Justinian's entourage, and the authors of the main sources for his reign, were all from the provinces, predominantly from Asia Minor. The influx of petitioners, litigants and would-be immigrants was probably most intense in the years before the plague of 542. The image of Constantinople as the still centre of the turning world, as a heaven on earth against which barbarism would not prevail, was already a major tool of Byzantine diplomacy. Jordanes records the reaction of Athanaric the Goth as follows:

'Lo, now I see what I have often heard of with unbelieving ears', meaning the great and famous city. Turning his eyes hither and thither, he marvelled as he beheld the situation of the city, the coming and going of the ships, the splendid walls, and the people of divers nations gathered like a flood of waters streaming from different regions into one basin. So too, when he saw the army in array, he said, 'Truly the emperor is God on earth, and whoso raises a hand against him is guilty of his own blood'.⁴²

⁴⁰ Theoph., 400; Skylitzes, Thurn, ed., 478, 490.

⁴¹ Some of these questions are discussed by the contributors to J. Beaucamp and G. Dagron, eds, *La transmission du patrimoine: Byzance et l'aire méditerranéenne* (Paris, 1998).

⁴² Jordanes, *Getica*, XXVIII: MGH *Auct. Ant.* III, 1, 95; C.C. Mierow, tr., *The Gothic History of Jordanes* (Princeton, 1915), 91.

Jordanes, like Justinian, refers to Constantinople as the 'reigning city',⁴³ and Justinian's legislation is almost certainly the source for Balsamon's distinction between Constantinople and the 'outer territories'.⁴⁴ Yet in Justinian's Novels, the expressions ἔξω τόποι and ἔξω πόλεις merely make a geographical distinction; they do not imply a contrast, and do not carry the weight of association with inferiority and non-conformity which Balsamon attaches to the expression ἔξω χώραι. Behind his usage lay centuries of investment in Constantinople at the expense of the urban life of the rest of the empire. The material investment fluctuated; it began to fall off after the plague of 542, and declined in a big way after the loss of Egypt and Syria. Yet the spiritual and moral investment only increased as Constantinople stood almost alone as the city which had not been sacked or conquered by invading barbarians. A series of events in the seventh and eighth centuries enhanced the role of Constantinople as the God-guarded city which would endure until the end of time. There was the failure of Heraclius to relocate to Carthage (619), and the murder of Constans II (668) who had set up his headquarters in Sicily – though not before stripping Rome of its bronze statues for shipping to Constantinople.⁴⁵ There were the failure of the Avar siege of 626 and the failures of the Ummayyad caliphs to blockade the city in 674–678 and in 717–718. These failures helped to ensure that Byzantium did not go the way of other early medieval states with their movable capitals and itinerant courts. Crucial in this respect was the decision of Constantine V to repopulate the city after the devastating plague of 747, and, in 766, to rebuild the sections of the aqueduct which the Avars had destroyed one hundred and forty years earlier. The new settlers were transplanted from Greece and the islands, the construction teams were brought in from all over the provinces, and the food supply of the repopulated city was ensured by fiscal measures which bore heavily on the peasantry.⁴⁶ This was a major investment for a ruralized, militarized state whose economic and demographic strength so clearly lay in its provinces. If we follow the chronology of Theophanes, Constantine V waited nine years before repopulating Constantinople after the plague, nine years in which the

⁴³ Const. *Deo auctore*, 10.

⁴⁴ E.g. Nov. 14, 1; 80, 9

⁴⁵ The shipment was subsequently captured by the Arabs and taken to Alexandria: Paul the Deacon, *Historia Longobardorum*, V. 11–13; G. Waitz, ed., MGH SS (Hanover, 1878), 190–192.

⁴⁶ Theoph., 429, 440; Nikephoros, Patriarch of Constantinople, *Short History*, C. Mango ed. and tr. (Washington, DC, 1990), 140–141, 160–161.

empire had managed to live without an oversize capital city. I have suggested elsewhere that his motive was primarily ideological – to prove himself worthy of his baptismal name, and of the epithet New Constantine with which he was acclaimed by the iconoclast council of 754, the year before his repopulation of the city.⁴⁷

The refoundation of Constantinople by Constantine V began a period of demographic recovery and building activity which continued until 1204. The pull of the capital was perhaps more intense than ever now that the competition had been all but eliminated; the sack of Thessalonike in 904 was a major blow to the only serious competitor. The fact that Constantinople remained inviolate contributed to its allure in more than one way: it validated and demonstrated the mystical identity between the city and its supernatural patron, the Virgin Mother of God; and it meant that the city continued, on balance, to accumulate more and more of the treasures for which it was famous. A series of medieval emperors – Basil I, Leo VI, Romanos I, Constantine VII, Nikephoros II, John I, Manuel I, Isaac II – added to the store of holy relics and other trophies. Although much of the gold and silver which came into the city went out again in the form of salaries, subsidies, tributes and diplomatic gifts, much remained in the form of gifts to churches which could not, in principle, be touched. Emperors who did touch them in moments of emergency made themselves very unpopular. Visitors were told that a third or more of the world's wealth was contained in the city.⁴⁸ This sounds like an urban myth, but it made sense of what the visitors saw, and it expressed a version of the truth contained in Michael Choniates's complaint that Constantinople took all the good things of this world and gave nothing in return.⁴⁹

The whole development of the Byzantine state from 755 increased the importance of Constantinople, in both relative and absolute terms. This was as true of the territorial contraction of the late eleventh century as it had been of the territorial expansion of the previous two hundred years. The Turkish conquest of Asia Minor obliged provincial élites to move to the Balkans. Not all settled in Constantinople – the Manasses family, for

⁴⁷ P. Magdalino, 'The Distance of the Past in Early Medieval Byzantium (VII-X Centuries)', *Ideologie e pratiche del reimpiego nell'alto medioevo. Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di studi sull'Alto Medioevo* 46 (1999), 115–146, at 138–145.

⁴⁸ See K.N. Ciggaar, 'Une description de Constantinople dans le *Tarragonensis* 55', *REB* 53 (1995), 119; Robert of Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, P. Lauer, ed. (Paris, 1924), §81, 80–81.

⁴⁹ See above, note 8.

instance, were moved by Romanos IV from Adramyttion to Peristasis on the Gallipoli peninsula.⁵⁰ But the senior eastern clergy, including the patriarch of Antioch, were established in Constantinople, and on the whole the relocated Eastern aristocracy were far more court and Constantinople based than they had been in their native habitat. Of the families which made up the top drawer of the aristocracy under the Komnenoi, only those from Adrianople and Trebizond clearly maintained their provincial roots. In other words, the loss of central and eastern Anatolia enabled the Komnenoi to bring the centralization of the Roman Empire to its logical conclusion. At no previous time in the empire's history had its ruling class and the ownership of its resources been so disproportionately concentrated in the capital. The political ideology of eleventh- and twelfth-century Byzantium has been aptly described in terms of 'patriotisme grec et orthodoxe et polarisation constantinopolitaine'. There was both greater emphasis on *eugeneia*, and on Constantinople as the source of it, as the only place where the γένος Ῥωμαίων, with the purple-born imperial children at its core, was truly at home.⁵¹

So it is not accidental that the sounds of Constantinopolitan snobbery and insularity reach a crescendo around 1204, nor is it coincidence that in this year Constantinople finally lost the inviolability which had made it the exclusive place to be. Heard in the context of the Fourth Crusade, the voices of Balsamon, Eustathios, the Choniates brothers and the patriarch Germanos are telling us that Constantinople fell because it had excluded the outside world, because it had alienated all its potential sources of deliverance. Heard in the context of the sequel, they are also telling us something else: the detachment worked both ways, and made the provinces capable of standing by themselves, as the territorial bases of imperial governments in exile, two at the extremities and one near the heart of the Byzantine world. The success of these successor states lay in their ability to graft refugee elements from Constantinople on to the structures of provincial society. The most successful of the three, Nicaea, was the one which made the least effort to recreate Constantinople in exile; as is well known, its troubles began almost as soon as it recovered Constantinople from the Latins.

⁵⁰ See C.M. Mazzucchi, 'Longino in Giovanni di Sicilia, con un inedito di storia, epigrafia e toponomastica di Cosma Manasse dal Cod. Laurenziano LVII 5', *Aevum* 64 (1990), 193–194.

⁵¹ H. Ahrweiler, *L'idéologie politique de l'empire byzantin* (Paris, 1975), 67; Magdalino, *Tradition and Transformation*, nos I and XIV.

The provincial successor states flourished because local resources were invested locally during the period of exile. Yet they also undoubtedly owed something to the pre-existing vitality of provincial society. The empire of Nicaea reaped the benefits of the work of repopulation that the Komnenoi, especially John and Manuel, had carried out in western Asia Minor. Alexander Kazhdan pointed out that by the end of the twelfth century, Constantinople no longer held a monopoly in the production of manufactured goods,⁵² and David Jacoby has developed this thesis in his study of the silk industry in Greece.⁵³ Twelfth-century writers show occasional flashes of pride in their local *patrides*, as when the Choniates brothers write of Chonai, Euthymios Tornikes of Thebes, and John Apokaukos of Naupaktos.⁵⁴

Thus the evidence for Constantinopolitan exclusivism must be heard against a background of ambivalent provincial attitudes towards the metropolis, in which traditional reverence was mixed with resentment at the status of this city which literally did not produce the goods. The chorus of twelfth-century voices heralds the reversal of roles in 1204, which would make Constantinople the great outsider and turn Queen City into Strumpet City. The image is suggested by Niketas Choniates, who uses it to denounce the frequent changes in imperial power before 1204, though he does not apply it directly to Constantinople.⁵⁵ Yet like the concept of Queen City, it had a long history. John Mauropous had used it in 1061, in a way which suggests that it was part of the standard repertoire of churchmen preaching repentance in moments of adversity.⁵⁶ It naturally entered into thinking about the Apocalypse; ever since the fall of Old Rome, Constantinople had been a prime candidate for the role of Babylon the Great.⁵⁷

⁵² A.P. Kazhdan and A. Wharton Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1985), 39ff.

⁵³ D. Jacoby, 'Silk in Western Byzantium before the Fourth Crusade', *BZ* 84–85 (1991–1992), 452–500 (reprinted with additions in D. Jacoby, *Trade, Commodities and Shipping in the Medieval Mediterranean* (Aldershot, 1997), no.VII).

⁵⁴ See Magdalino, *Tradition and Transformation*, no. XIV, 8, 15.

⁵⁵ van Dielen, ed., 498–499. In his lament on the capture of the City (576ff.) Choniates develops the image of a wronged but virtuous woman.

⁵⁶ P. de Lagarde, ed., *Iohannis Euchaitorum metropolitae quae in Vat. Gr. 676 supersunt* (Göttingen, 1882; repr. Amsterdam, 1979), 169.

⁵⁷ Andreas of Caesarea, J. Schmid, ed., *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Apokalypse-Textes*, I (Munich, 1955), 201–202; *Life of Andrew the Fool*, Rydén, ed. and tr., I, 278–279 and n. 79; cf. G. Podskalsky, *Byzantinische Reichseschatologie* (Munich, 1972), 86–90.

I began this paper by alluding to the caricature of the *New Yorker's* view of the world. I shall conclude by pointing out that Constantinople was the equivalent, in modern terms, of New York and Washington combined, and that both those cities are deeply abhorrent to the moral majority of the United States. Let me close with the following question: who is the real insider – is it the slick urban sophisticate, the *politikos*, as Kekaumenos would have called him, or is it the country boy from the Bible Belt and the ἔξω χῶραι, who comes to the big city, gets cheated by the immigrant traders and laughed at by the chattering classes, and goes away convinced of the moral superiority of small-town life?

Pseudo-Kodinos' Constantinople

Two treatises on court ceremonial survive from Byzantium: the compendious *Book of Ceremonies*, initiated by the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetos between 945 and 959, and the smaller work written in the mid-to-late fourteenth century by the anonymous author known to scholarship as Pseudo-Kodinos.¹ Both works are important sources for the study of medieval Constantinople. They provide topographical and architectural information, mainly about the imperial palaces, but also about the outlying buildings where the emperor went to celebrate certain religious feasts, and the parts of the city through which he passed in procession. Moreover, the treatises document the symbolic and spatial relationship between the emperor and the public, the Palace and the City. In all these respects, comparison of the two texts is illuminating: there is no more striking illustration of the changes that Byzantine imperial government underwent from its medieval apogee to the last century of its existence. It is with this comparison in mind that the following discussion of the topographical data in Pseudo-Kodinos is presented.

Pseudo-Kodinos' Constantinople begins and ends in the Palace, by which he means the Blachernae Palace at the northern corner of the city, except on the one occasion when he specifies that the emperor stays in the Great Palace on the night before and the night after his coronation.² In this, the treatise presents not only the diametrical opposite of the view from the Great Palace that informs the tenth-century *Book of Ceremonies*, but also the reduced scale and the increased isolation of formal palace routine in the mid fourteenth century. While the number of external liturgical venues is about the same in each text, the lists are significantly different, as we shall see. More crucially, the ceremonial interface between the Palace and the adjoining public spaces that features so prominently in the *De cerimoniis* is completely lacking in the world of Pseudo-Kodinos. The Hippodrome has gone, and nothing has taken its place, unless the *prokypsis* ceremony may be thought to preserve some remnant

¹ *De cer.*; Ps.-Kod.

² Ps.-Kod., 269.19–22, 271.1–3.

of the acclamation of the emperor in the Kathisma.³ There is no equivalent of the Magnaura, the great hall at the entrance to the Great Palace, where the emperor had received foreign ambassadors, held assemblies, and delivered a public homily (*silention*) at the beginning of Lent.⁴ The fourteenth-century emperor does not, on dominical feast-days, attend the morning liturgy in Hagia Sophia or even in the Blachernae church situated just outside the Blachernae Palace. Indeed, he is not even present at the liturgy in the adjacent palace church adjoining his throne-room, because this would take too long⁵ – a reflection of the extent to which the monastic liturgical typikon had come to dominate regular ‘cathedral’ usage since the tenth century.⁶ Instead, he hears matins in the reception hall (*triklinos*), which is converted for the occasion into a devotional space by bringing in a lectern and a portable icon screen (*eikonostasion*) hung with four or five icons.⁷

Also missing from the Blachernae Palace ceremonial described by Pseudo-Kodinos are the labyrinthine itineraries that wind through the tenth-century Great Palace. Granted, the fourteenth-century text, not being exclusively concerned with describing ceremonies, does not necessarily cover all ceremonial occasions, but those it does cover – i.e. major religious feasts, coronations, promotions, and receptions of imperial brides – are arguably the most important and therefore represent the maximum deployment of ceremonial space within the palace complex. According to the text, this space is limited to the following elements: the hall (*triklinos*) with the adjoining imperial bedchamber (*kellion*);⁸ the elevated, exterior gallery (*peripatos*) connecting the bedchamber with the

³ Ps.-Kod., 195–204. For the relevant chapters of the *De ceremoniis*, see the recent edition, translation and commentary by G. Dagron, ‘L’organisation et le déroulement des courses d’après le *Livre des Cérémonies*’, TM, 13 (2000), 3–200. An equally if not more likely ancestor of the *prokypsis* is the ceremony of the *deximon* or *parakypikon*, in which the emperor was acclaimed by the leading circus factions, the Blues and the Greens, in courtyards of the Great Palace on the day before the games: De cer., I 71–6, ed and tr. Vogt, I, 88–111; cf. Dagron, ‘Trônes pour un empereur’, 180–5.

⁴ De cer., II 10, 15, ed. Reiske, 545–8, 566–94; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 267–8; Dagron, ‘Trônes pour un empereur’, 185–91.

⁵ Ps.-Kod., 195.

⁶ R. Taft, *The Byzantine Rite: A Short History* (Collegeville Minn., 1992), chapters 5–6.

⁷ Ps.-Kod., 189ff.

⁸ The text mostly refers to a single *kellion*, but one passage states that the emperor had a choice of *kellia* from which he could hear the vigil services in the church: Ps.-Kod., 230, 28–32.

palace church⁹, which also appears to have connected directly with the *triklinos*,¹⁰ somewhere beside the *peripatos*, a chapel dedicated to the Virgin Nikopoios with a mural icon of St George facing the courtyard.¹¹ The courtyard (*aulè*) is often mentioned. It contained a tribunal for the performance of the *prokypsis*,¹² this was probably different from the structure with four columns (*tetrastylon*) mentioned as the place where the sebastokrator, the second highest dignitary in the court hierarchy, had to dismount on entering the palace;¹³ there was also a stable (*kaballarikion*) for the emperor's horses.¹⁴ The courtyard was entered through a gate called *ta Hypsela*. This is the only unit that can be located approximately, from the information that the emperor passes through it on his way to the Blachernae church on the feast of the Hypapante.¹⁵ It must therefore have stood on the hill to the south of the Agiasma which is now all that is left of the sacred complex of the Blachernae shrine, and was no doubt associated with one section of the massive Byzantine substructures uncovered in this area in the 1950s.¹⁶ The name suggests an elevated position and also, perhaps, a tall structure such as a towered gatehouse of more than one storey.

The other structures mentioned by Pseudo-Kodinos are impossible to locate, even approximately; moreover, apart from the *prokypsis* tribunal and the chapel of the Virgin Nikopoios, they cannot be securely identified with buildings known from other sources. This contrasts unfavourably with our knowledge of the Great Palace that we get from combining the information of the *De cerimoniis* with the evidence of contemporary historical narratives such as *Theophanes Continuatus*. Not only are later sources much less informative about the Blachernae Palace, but also Pseudo-Kodinos, not having to describe complex itineraries or multiple venues, does not bother to identify buildings

⁹ *Ibid.*, 224–6. Elevation: the lampadarios who leads the Palm Sunday procession goes up to the *peripatos* (p. 225, 6: προανέρχεται), and on his return the emperor is said to come down (p. 226, 6: κατελθεῖν). Exterior situation (probably along the outside wall of the *triklinos*): when the emperor has returned, a page boy comes out (ἐξελθὼν) and takes a branch, which is a signal for the Varangians and all the other ranks assembled in the courtyard to strip the gallery of its greenery (p. 226, 7–15).

¹⁰ There is never any mention of an outside space between the *triklinos* and the church, from which, even with the doors closed, the chanting of the liturgy would normally be heard from the imperial throne (p. 234.13–17; p. 237, 6–11)

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 227.12–15;

¹² Ps.-Kod., 197.24–6.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 148. 14–17.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 169.5–9.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 243–4. On the Blachernae church and its location, see Janin, *Églises*, 161–71.

¹⁶ F. Diremtekin, 'Les fouilles dans la région des Blachernes', *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi*, 9, 2 (1959), 18–31; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 223–4, and map p. 302.

and locations more closely. Notably, as he is concerned with only one palace church and one palace throne-room, he does not name the dedication of the former or the builder of the latter. The palace church was clearly not the chapel of the Nikopoios. Was it the Komnenian church of St Thekla,¹⁷ or that of St Demetrios mentioned in passing by John Kantakouzenos?¹⁸ The throne-room and reception hall most frequently mentioned in the sources is the one built by Alexios I, the *Alexiakos triklinos*.¹⁹ This served as a venue for major church synods in the Palaiologan period, including the one convened by John VI Kantakouzenos in 1351.²⁰ The building was therefore clearly in usable condition at the time of Pseudo-Kodinos. We should not assume, however, that it was the *triklinos* mentioned in the text. Indeed, one fairly strong indication that this was not the case is to be found in Gregoras' account of the end of the civil war of 1341–1347 between John Kantakouzenos and the regency government of John V. When Anne of Savoy finally agreed to recognise John Kantakouzenos as co-emperor, he faced a housing crisis:

When the emperor Kantakouzenos entered the palace, there was no place suitable for him to reside, even without the presence of his wife, who was still living in Didymoteichon. For since the empress Anne already occupied the buildings that befitted an imperial lifestyle, he did not eject her and her son and emperor John, nor did he object to their continuing to reside there as before. But just as he demonstrably yielded precedence to them in enthronement and acclamations, so he acted in matters of habitation, taking up residence in the buildings, or more correctly speaking, the ruins, next to the huge *triklinos* of the former emperor Alexios.²¹

The *Alexiakos* and its annexes were not therefore the regular core of the palace in the mid-fourteenth century, and it was evidently for other reasons that Kantakouzenos chose it as the venue for the synod of 1351: it was his part of the Palace, synods had been held there before, and it was possibly the hall best capable of accommodating an exceptionally large assembly. What then was the regular Palace *triklinos* used by John V and Anne of Savoy? It might have been the one built by Manuel I, as recorded by Choniates and Benjamin of Tudela.²²

¹⁷ See *Medieval Constantinople* (no. I in this volume), pp. 78–9, nn. 128–9, 158.

¹⁸ John Kantakouzenos, II, 47, 66.

¹⁹ See Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, 125–6. The hall is first mentioned as the venue of a synod in 1094: ed. P. Gautier, 'Le synode des Blachernes (fin 1094). Étude prosopographique', *RÉB*, 29 (1971), 220;

²⁰ George Pachymeres, ed. and tr. Failler, II, 339, 343; III, 209–11; Nikephoros Gregoras, II, 898.

²¹ Nikephoros Gregoras, II, 783–4.

²² Choniates, ed. van Dielen, 206; M.N. Adler, *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela* (London 1907), 13; Magdalino, 'Manuel Komnenos and the Great Palace'.

An equally if not more likely candidate is the fine *basilikos oikos* that Nikephoros Xanthopoulos, in the preface to his *Ecclesiastical History*, describes among the constructions of Andronikos II.²³ Xanthopoulos, in the same context, also attributes to Andronikos II an 'outdoor platform' (ὑπαίθριον ὄροφον) on four columns which from the description must be the *prokypsis* tribunal of Pseudo-Kodinos. That the *prokypsis* tribunal was part of a palace unit associated with Andronikos II can also be deduced from other information in the narrative accounts of the 1341-7 civil war. Kantazouzenos records that his mother was imprisoned by the regency government of John V in a palace building erected by 'the first Andronikos'²⁴. Gregoras adds that from this prison 'in the midst of the imperial court' (μεταξὺ τῆς βασιλείου ἀύλης), she could hear the crowd acclaiming John V on Christmas Eve when he performed the first *prokypsis* after his coronation on 19 November 1341, standing 'on the outdoor structure (αἰθριῶ οἰκισκῶ) in the palace whence the emperors before him had been accustomed to emerge on that day'; she could also hear the insults they were shouting against her son²⁵. It therefore makes sense to identify both the palace buildings occupied by John V and Anne of Savoy in 1347, and the setting for the ceremonies described by Pseudo-Kodinos, with the complex known in the fourteenth century as the palace of Andronikos II. However, this does not, in the final analysis, preclude an identification with the palace of Manuel I. It is clear from Gregoras that at least part of the complex mentioned by Pseudo-Kodinos dated from the twelfth century. Gregoras says that the mural icon of St George by the chapel of the Virgin Nikopoios was the work of the famous artist Paul, who is known from other sources to have flourished before 1200; moreover he reveals that the icon had existed during the Latin occupation, for the neighing of St George's painted or mosaic horse was said to have announced the fall of Constantinople to Michael Palaiologos.²⁶ It seems, therefore, that Andronikos II renovated or reconstructed an older, twelfth-century building, but Xanthopoulos, employing a conventional encomiastic topos, gave him sole credit.

One thing seems certain: Pseudo-Kodinos alludes to only a tiny part of the structures that had made up the Blachernae complex at its greatest extent. Robert of Clari writes that the Palace in 1204 was made up of 200-300 rooms all joined together and twenty chapels:²⁷ an exaggeration, no doubt,

²³ PG 145, cols. 585-8; translation in Appendix.

²⁴ John Kantakouzenos, II, 164-5.

²⁵ Nikephoros Gregoras, II, 616-17.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 304-5; for the painter Paul of Otranto, see 'The Evergetis Fountain' [no. VIII in this volume].

²⁷ Robert of Clari, ed. Lauer, 83.

but evocative of a genuine impression of scale. Choniates refers to twelfth-century constructions – the Polytimos and the ‘lofty buildings ... called after the German empress’, and the sumptuous additions made by Isaac II²⁸ – of which there is no subsequent trace. Thus, the ceremonial of the mid-to-late fourteenth-century court occupied only a fraction of the space that had once been available. Of course, we cannot assume that the whole of that space had ever been used at any one time. However, given the straitened circumstances of the state after 1341, it seems reasonable to conclude that Pseudo-Kodinos reflects the contraction of the Blachernae Palace to a functional core consisting of not much more than the basic requirements: a palace church, a reception and banqueting hall, the imperial living quarters, and buildings that housed essential services and personnel.

As for the palace church, we can make one tentative inference from the fact that all religious services attended by the emperor and the court take place in the *triklinos*, and that on the rare occasions when the emperor enters the church, he apparently does so alone:²⁹ the church was simply not big enough to accommodate the emperor and his full entourage. This was a problem even at the public church of the Blachernae, as Gregoras reveals in his account of the coronation of John VI in 1347, held there because of the recent earthquake damage to Hagia Sophia.³⁰

Pseudo-Kodinos makes a clear distinction between events inside and events outside the Palace. The feasts of the Christmas and Easter cycles and the vigils associated with the three main fasts are celebrated in the Palace, the only partial exceptions being on the Sundays of Easter and Pentecost, when the emperor, having celebrated the main part of the feast at the Blachernae, goes to Hagia Sophia for vespers. Other feasts are celebrated elsewhere, ‘if the emperor is resident in Constantinople’, as is specified in the heading to the short chapter which lists these visits.³¹ Chapter 5 is thus the only part of the text concerned with the topography of the city as a whole. The choice of venues makes interesting reading; it takes us on a tour of the urban space, and through four centuries of changing devotional practice and priorities. Once again, a comparison with the *De cerimoniis* is instructive. Of the seventeen events listed by Pseudo-Kodinos, only three were survivals from the court ritual of the tenth century: the feast of the Hypapante (2 February), celebrated at the Blachernae church;³² the

²⁸ Niketas Choniates, ed. van Dieten, 271, 442, 544.

²⁹ Ps.-Kod., 195.8–10, 234.9–16.

³⁰ Nikephoros Gregoras, II, 787–8.

³¹ Ps.-Kod., 242–7.

³² *De cer.*, I 36, ed. and tr. Vogt, 137–44; Ps.-Kod., 243–4.

Feast of Orthodoxy (the first Sunday in Lent) at Hagia Sophia:³³ the feast of Constantine and Helen (21 May) at the Holy Apostles.³⁴ In three cases the ecclesiastical ritual had existed in the tenth century but had not involved the emperor: the services at the Forum of Constantine to mark the beginning of the liturgical year (1 September),³⁵ the feast of the Apostles (29 June),³⁶ and the commemoration of the deposition of the Virgin's robe at the Blachernae (31 August).³⁷ On three other occasions, the feast is the same but the venue has changed, from a Palace church to a monastery for St Demetrios (26 October),³⁸ from the Blachernae to Hagia Sophia for the Dormition of the Virgin (15 August),³⁹ and from Stoudios to Petra for the beheading of John the Baptist (29 August).⁴⁰ In all other cases, both the occasion and the venue are new to the court calendar. In terms of devotional focus, one notices increased veneration of Christ, the Virgin, and the Baptist (the three Deesis figures), along with the introduction of two military saints, Demetrios and George, representing East and West, and two Church Fathers, St John Chrysostom and St Basil. The omissions are no less striking: the other great military saints (Theodore Tiron and Theodore Stratelates), the third of the Three Hierarchs (i.e. St Gregory of Nazianzos), and a number of important figures who had figured prominently in the tenth-century court calendar: the Archangels Michael and Gabriel, the Prophet Elijah, St John the Theologian, and the doctor saints Panteleimon and Kosmas and Damian.⁴¹

Some differences from tenth-century practice might reflect the deterioration of churches in the fires of 1203–4 or during the Latin occupation: this probably happened to St Mokios and the Chalkoprateia, both of which have minor parts

³³ *De cer.*, I 37, ed. and tr. Vogt, 145–8; Ps.-Kod., 246.

³⁴ *De cer.*, II 6, ed. Reiske, 532–5; Ps.-Kod., 244.

³⁵ Ps.-Kod., 242; *Typ.*, I, 2–11.

³⁶ Ps.-Kod., 245; *Typ.*, I, 322–3.

³⁷ Ps.-Kod., 246. Pseudo-Kodinos appears to confuse the deposition of the Virgin's robe (ἔσθης) at the Blachernae, commemorated according to the *Typikon* and *Synaxarion* of the Great Church on 2 July (*Typ.*, I, 328–9; Syn CP, 793–4), with the deposition of her girdle (ζώνη), which was the event celebrated on 31 August (*Typ.*, I, 387; Syn CP, 935–6). However, the ritual was the same on both occasions, and it is possible that the earlier feast declined along with the Chalkoprateia church.

³⁸ *De cer.*, I 30, ed. and tr. Vogt, I, 113–15; Ps.-Kod., 242.

³⁹ *De cer.*, II 9, ed. Reiske, 541–4; Ps.-Kod., 245.

⁴⁰ *De cer.*, II 13, ed. Reiske, 562; Ps.-Kod., 245.

⁴¹ *De cer.*, I 28, 29, ed. and tr. Vogt, 106–9, 112; II 13, ed. Reiske, 560, 562. For the Archangels and Elijah, see also nos. V and VI in this volume.

in the *De ceremoniis*.⁴² The removal of relics by the Latins might also account for many omissions, as well as the fact that St John Chrysostom was venerated in Hagia Sophia and not at the Holy Apostles where his tomb had been.⁴³

However, the significance of the venues does not lie solely in their dedications or in the objects of veneration. The big shift from the tenth century is in the number of monasteries on the court's liturgical calendar. The *De ceremoniis* names only one, and it is, as we might expect, the Stoudios, where the emperor went on 29 August for the feast of the decapitation of St John the Baptist, no doubt because the monastery church housed the relic of the saint's head.⁴⁴ By contrast, in Pseudo-Kodinos eight of the twelve extra-palatine destinations are monastic, accounting for nine of the seventeen liturgical away-days.

The monasteries in question were all foundations of the tenth-century and later, and all had imperial or dynastic associations. In order of foundation date, they are as follows:

1. Monastery of St Lazaros, founded by Leo VI when the relics of Lazaros and Mary Magdalene were translated to Constantinople at the beginning of the tenth century. Location: on the Bosphoros between the Great Palace and the Mangana.⁴⁵
2. Monastery of St Basil: presumably the one founded by Basil the *parakoimomenos* prior to his dismissal by Basil II in 985. According to Psellos, the emperor did everything he could to damage this sumptuous foundation short of razing it to the ground. However, its existence is well attested in the twelfth century and later, and it seems likely that Basil II, in taking it over, gave it the status of an imperial monastery which it certainly had acquired by 1354. Location: near the church of the Theotokos Kyriotissa, now the Kalendarhane Camii.⁴⁶
3. Monastery of the Theotokos Peribleptos, founded by Romanos III (1028–1034), who was buried there, as was Nikephoros III Botaneiates (1078–81). Location: in the south-west of the city; survived into

⁴² *De cer.*, I 26, 39, ed. and tr. Vogt, 92–100, 154ff; Janin, *Églises*, 237–42, 354–8; Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 336. Neither church is mentioned by the Russian pilgrims of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and Constantine Akropolites mentions the church of St Mokios as being close to ruin c. 1300: unpublished *Encomium of St Sampson*, Ambros. H 81 Sup., fols. 168v–169r.

⁴³ Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 302–4, suggests that the tomb mentioned by the Russians was empty of relics.

⁴⁴ The head was brought to Constantinople under Michael III, and moved to the Stoudios some time in the tenth century: see J. Wortley, 'Relics of the "friends of Jesus" at Constantinople', in Durand and Flusin (eds), *Byzance et les reliques du Christ*, 149.

⁴⁵ Janin, *Églises*, 298–300; Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 379–81.

⁴⁶ Janin, *Églises*, 58–9; Magdalino, *Medieval Constantinople*, pp. 89, n. 195.

- Ottoman times as the Armenian Sulu Manastr.⁴⁷
4. Monastery of St George at the Mangana, founded by Constantine IX Monomachos in c. 1045. Location: near the Bosporos, immediately below the second court of the Topkapı Saray.⁴⁸
 5. Monastery of St John Prodromos at Petra, originally a fifth-century foundation re-founded between 1084 and 1095 by a monk called John the Faster under the sponsorship of Anna Dalassene, mother of Alexios I. It was re-founded on an even grander scale in the twelfth century by the *protasekretis* John Ioalites. After falling on hard times in the Latin occupation, and suffering from a fire in 1308, it gained a new lease of life in the fourteenth century thanks to the hospital founded there by the Serbian kral Stephen Milutin. Location: in a ravine near the cistern of Aetios, to the south of the Blachernae Palace.⁴⁹
 6. Monastery of Christ Pantokrator, founded by John II and his wife Eirene between 1118 and 1136; known from the founder's *typikon* and from the surviving church buildings, now the Zeyrek Camii. Location: overlooking the Golden Horn at the Zeugma (Unkapanı).⁵⁰
 7. Monastery of St Demetrios of the Palaiologoi, founded by George Palaiologos in the mid twelfth century, and re-founded by his descendant the emperor Michael VIII after 1261. Location: at Vlanga, on the Marmara shore, near the Jewish quarter by the former harbour of Theodosius.⁵¹
 8. Convent of the Theotokos of Lips, originally a tenth-century foundation by the eponymous court official of Leo VI, then taken over after 1261 by the empress Theodora, who added a new church to serve as a commemoration and burial place for herself and her family. Location: south of the Holy Apostles, in the valley of the Lykos, not far from the Constantinian land wall. The churches survive as the Fenari Isa Camii.⁵²

⁴⁷ Janin, *Églises*, 218–22; Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 276–83; Mango, 'The Monastery of St Mary Peribleptos'.

⁴⁸ Janin, *Églises*, 70–76; Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 366–71; Oikonomides. 'St George of the Mangana'.

⁴⁹ Janin, *Églises*, 421–9; Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 339–45; Malamut, 'Le monastère Saint-Jean-Prodrome'.

⁵⁰ Janin, *Églises*, 515–23; Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 289–95; Magdalino, *Medieval Constantinople*,

⁵¹ Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 267–8.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 309–12; Janin, *Églises*, 307–10.

All but two of these monasteries were imperial foundations, and all had imperial status. How long had they figured on the imperial list of festal venues? Working backwards, it is clear first of all that St Demetrios and Lips owed their importance to the Palaiologan court to their re-foundation by the founding members of the Palaiologan imperial succession, Michael VIII and Theodora, so it is very unlikely that the emperor had attended their annual feasts before 1204. The same is probably true of the Petra monastery, which although important before 1204, formed its close connection with the imperial court after 1308. On the other hand, it is plausible to suppose that the three great imperial foundations of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Peribleptos, the Mangana, and the Pantokrator were incorporated into the court ceremonial calendar from their inception. In the case of the Mangana, we have valuable corroboration from the history of Michael Attaleiates, who records that a group of conspirators planned to kidnap and assassinate Constantine X Doukas as he attended the St George's day celebrations at the Mangana in 1060, as prescribed by the founder, Constantine IX.⁵³ The information is valuable because it shows an emperor attending a religious feast at a recently founded imperial monastery of which he was not the founder. It indicates that the practice prescribed by Pseudo-Kodinos was already current in the mid-eleventh century, and must have been instituted at the latest for the Mangana, if not for some earlier foundation. The Peribleptos is likely to have constituted a precedent, which would take us back to the reign of Romanos III. The remaining foundations, St Lazaros and St Basil's, are problematic, since St Basil's was not imperial in origin, and St Lazaros predated the *De cerimoniis*, which would surely have registered any annual procession instituted by the founder, Leo VI. Most probably, therefore, these monasteries were put on the list at a later date in recognition of some development of which we remain ignorant. In the case of St Basil's, its importance is clear from the fact that the Patriarch Joseph was buried there,⁵⁴ and John Kantakouzenos had the Patriarch John Kalekas confined there in 1347.⁵⁵ Equally, we can only guess why certain Pseudo-Kodinos' list omits some apparently eligible monasteries that are known to have flourished in the Palaiologan period: for example the Chora,⁵⁶ the Kosmidion,⁵⁷ and the

⁵³ Ed. Bekker, 71–2; Pérez-Martín, 55: ὁ βασιλεὺς (Constantine X), ὡς ἦν ἀπὸ τοῦ Μονομάχου θεοσεπισμένου τοῦς κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν βασιλεῖς εἰς τὸ τοῦ ἁγίου φοιτᾶν μαρτύριον, ὅπου περ αὐτὸς οἰκοδομὰς λαμπρὰς καὶ πολυτελεῖς καὶ βασιλεῦσι προσήκουσας ἐπήξατο, πληρῶν τὴν ἐντολὴν αἰδοῖ τὸν ἐντεταλμένον, μᾶλλον δὲ τῆ τοῦ μάρτυρος ἐπευφρανόμενος.

⁵⁴ Pachymeres, ed. and tr. Failler, III, 48–9.

⁵⁵ Nikephoros Gregoras, II, 784.

⁵⁶ Janin, *Églises*, 531–8.

⁵⁷ Janin, *Églises*, 286–9; Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 331–3.

monastery of the Hodegoi⁵⁸— although the last-named participated in court devotions by sending its famous icon to the Palace for Lent.⁵⁹

The topography of Constantinople is evoked in one other short chapter of Pseudo-Kodinos. This is Chapter 12, which outlines the procedure for the reception of an imperial bride coming from abroad.⁶⁰ It is remarkable for being the most confused and confusing section of the treatise. The confusion arises regarding the place where the princess disembarks if she arrives. If she arrives by land, it is straightforward: she is accustomed to dismount (πεζεύειν) at the Pege,⁶¹ outside the land walls, where she is met by her future husband and father-in-law and is then looked after by the wives of high-ranking aristocrats.⁶² If she arrives 'with ships' (μετὰ κατέργων), we are first told that she is accustomed to set foot on land (πεζεύειν) 'near the Blachernae church, outside the city', but later, the reception is said to take place 'by the Acropolis, at the Eugenios Gate', an unambiguous reference to a disembarkation point at the eastern end of the Golden Horn.⁶³ Here, the emperor, having ridden to greet his bride, leaves her to be dressed in red by the highest-ranking women, whereupon she rides in imperial procession to the Palace. I can think of three alternative explanations for this apparent discrepancy:

1. Pseudo-Kodinos is giving a not very clear or elegant description of a single ceremony in two parts, as follows. First, the flotilla bearing the bride anchors at the Acropolis point, where she is greeted by her future husband, and dressed up by the leading ladies either before or after she disembarks at the Eugenios Gate. She then rides in public procession through the city all the way to the Blachernae church, where there is a second reception before she proceeds to the Palace.
2. The author has grafted a description of actual practice in the Palaiologan period on to an obsolete description of the procedure at an earlier date when the Great Palace was still in use. The Eugenios Gate seems to correspond to the disembarkation point used in the twelfth century by

⁵⁸ Janin, *Églises*, 199–207; Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 363–5; Angelidi and Papamastorakis, 'The Veneration of the Virgin Hodegetria and the Hodegon Monastery', in Vasilaki (ed.), *Mother of God*, 373–87.

⁵⁹ Ps.-Kod., 228, 231.

⁶⁰ Ps.-Kod., 286–7.

⁶¹ The monastery of the Virgin of the Spring, near one of the main gates: Janin, *Églises*, 223–28; van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, 75–8.

⁶² This appears to have been what happened in 1347, when John Kantakouzenos' daughter arrived from Adrianople to marry John V: John Kantakouzenos, III, 11.

⁶³ See van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, 227; Mango, 'The Triumphant Way of Constantinople', 178–9.

John and Manuel Komnenos when staging their imperial triumphs that followed a processional route from near the Acropolis point to Hagia Sophia and the Great Palace.⁶⁴ In view of this Komnenian practice, Pseudo-Kodinos could preserve a record of the procedure followed for the reception of Agnes of France in 1179.⁶⁵

3. Pseudo-Kodinos records two different procedures that had been followed on different occasions in the Palaiologan period.

Of all these explanations, the third seems to me the most plausible. Pseudo-Kodinos is not otherwise given to including antiquarian or out-of-date material for its own sake, unlike the compiler of the *De cerimoniis*. Between 1261 and the time he was writing, no fewer than five imperial brides had arrived in Constantinople from abroad. We know from Pachymeres that the first, Anne of Hungary, travelled by land in 1272, and that the third, Rita-Maria of Armenia, disembarked at the Kosmidion, at the head of the Golden Horn, at the end of her sea voyage in 1294.⁶⁶ Of the other three – Yolanda-Eirene of Montferrat in 1284–5, Adelheid-Eirene of Brunswick in 1317, and Giovanna-Anne of Savoy 1326 – the two Piedmontese princesses, at least, almost certainly came by sea on Genoese ships, as Agnes of France had come in 1179, and it is far from impossible that one or both of them landed at the Eugenios Gate in order to maximise the ceremonial impact of their arrival with a splendid procession through the streets of the city. Kantakouzenos recalled that Anne of Savoy had brought with her ‘a large royal retinue of both men and women, of those whom the Latins call knights and squires, and of many other nobles; she surpassed in magnificence all the empresses who had come to Byzantium from abroad in former years’.⁶⁷ She and her in-laws would presumably have wanted to mount a spectacular cavalcade to show off this magnificence. Here we should note that the theatrical value of the triumphal route from the Eugenios Gate had not been forgotten after 1204, since it was used for one

⁶⁴ Magdalino, *Empire of Manuel*, 240–42; Mango ‘The Triumphal Way of Constantinople’.

⁶⁵ Magdalino, *Empire of Manuel*, 100, 244. The princess’ arrival in a Genoese flotilla is celebrated in a speech by Eustathios of Thessalonica: new ed. P. Wirth, *Eustathii Thessalonicensis opera minora*, CFHB 32 (Berlin-New York 2000), 250–60. Unfortunately, the text does not specify where she landed, although the fact that Eustathios goes straight from the scene of the ships appearing off the sea-walls lined with expectant crowds to that of the reception in the Palace, without mentioning any public procession, might suggest that the flotilla docked in the Boukoleon harbour of the Great Palace. This is where Amalric I, King of Jerusalem, had landed in 1071: William of Tyre, ed. Huygens, 943–4.

⁶⁶ Pachymeres, IV 19, IX 5, ed. and tr. Failler, II, 413; III, 232–3.

⁶⁷ John Kantakouzenos, I, 204.

very public and triumphal occasion after 1261: the *adventus* of the body of the Patriarch Arsenios and its solemn deposition in Hagia Sophia.⁶⁸ This happened in October 1284, only months before the arrival of Andronikos II's second bride Yolanda of Montferrat.

Chapter 12 of Pseudo-Kodinos is disjointed, but like the rest of the work, it is a faithful reflection of the ceremonial topography of Palaiologan Constantinople.

In conclusion, let me quote Pero Tafur, one of the last western visitors who left his impressions of Byzantine Constantinople:

The Emperor's Palace must have been very magnificent, but now it is in such state that both it and the city show well the evils which the people and suffered and still endure. At the entrance to the Palace, beneath certain chambers, is an open loggia of marble with stone benches around it, and stones, like tables, raised on pillars in front of them, placed end to end. Here are many books and ancient writings and histories, and on one side are gaming boards so that the Emperor's house may be well supplied. Inside, the house is badly kept, except certain parts where the Emperor, the Empress, and attendants can live, although cramped for space. The Emperor's state is as splendid as ever, for nothing is omitted from the ancient ceremonies, but, properly regarded, he is like a Bishop without a See.⁶⁹

Appendix

Nikephoros Xanthopoulos, Preface to the Ecclesiastical History, Excerpt from the encomium of Andronikos II (PG 145, cols. 585–88):

If one should need to mention some example of your magnificence, let everyone be invited to see with their eyes (for it is impossible to express the luxury and expense of it in words) the palace which you raised some time ago: how well situated it is, how solidly it is constructed, what great care has gone into its beautification, as is only proper for a work truly worthy of your mind and tongue, not to mention your hand and your intelligence. There is also the outdoor platform which you have established on four columns, a sight worthy of great account, so that you may look upon us leaning down from on high as if from some superior realm of nature, in this too imitating God who mingles with men through the compassion of his goodness. And what could be more necessary for you, constituted a great emperor among emperors, than to erect

⁶⁸ Pachymeres, ed. Failler, III, p. 96–7; Gregoras, I, 167.

⁶⁹ Pero Tafur, *Travels and Adventures 1435–1439*, tr. M. Letts (London 1926), 145.

this imperial house, which you have raised not so much for yourself as for all of us? Such a work does not deserve to be passed over in silence, but rather it commands us by its exceedingly wondrous nature to fall silent, *as it leaps about quickly in all directions by the brilliant flashes of its beauty*⁷⁰ For in size it is greater than most <buildings>, and in beauty and solidity it surpasses almost all, ablaze as it is with much great light and abundant brilliance. With its graceful gates and porches it extends as it were kindly greeting and welcome to those who come here every day. With its inner courses and circuits, which successive *pillars*⁷¹ resembling giants and standing peacefully in decorum and modesty divide from each other, it urges <the visitors> to go in all directions and feast their eyes. How could one express the glistening charm of the marbles? – those which have been fitted, so to speak, to the fineness of a hair? The bands that both project from the whole construction and are woven into it? The marbles which are strewn on the ground, and those that the whole space of the walls wears like a richly embroidered tapestry? You would say immediately on seeing them that they are a sea rippled on all sides by gentle waves, and stirring so peacefully, that if you were to hang a curtain over it, no water would touch the hem. The ceiling you would liken to heaven through its great outpouring of gold like some ethereal dust, incandescent and blooming with fire. But how can words represent in brief such a work that is the product of great time and effort; a work such that neither speech, nor sight, nor even a mind trained in these matters can satisfactorily comprehend? It will suffice for me to say just this, that although many and almost countless imperial houses were magnificently constructed in years gone by, this one by unanimous vote, as they say, gains first place in all time by virtue of size, beauty, solidity, proportioned harmony, elegant composition, creations in mosaic which put Nature herself in second place, and almost all the things with which a sanctuary is made splendid.

⁷⁰ Or, emending *διεκπηδῶσαν* to *διεκπηδῶσαι*, and by the brilliant flashes of its beauty to leap about quickly.

⁷¹ Emending *πιστοὶ* to *πιντοὶ*, but if the original reading is kept, the allusion would be to big-bodied imperial guards, such as the Varangians, exercising crowd control.

ADDENDA

III. The maritime neighbourhoods of Constantinople: commercial and residential functions, sixth to twelfth centuries

- p. 215: the ongoing excavations at Yenikapt in Istanbul are revealing that the eastern area of the Harbour of Theodosius remained in use throughout the Byzantine period.
- p. 233: David Jacoby has demonstrated that the French and German commercial quarters granted to Venice in 1189 were situated to the east of the original Venetian quarter (Jacoby, 'Venetian Quarter', 158–9).

VIII. Constantinopolitana

- p. 230–32: the ongoing excavations at Yenikapt in Istanbul have revealed no evidence that the area of the Harbour of Theodosius was used as a cemetery in the Middle Ages. This makes it likely that the bones seen by 14th century travellers were outside the harbour area. Steven of Novgorod's information that the bones were those of enemies who had perished in an attack on Constantinople might therefore deserve re-consideration, especially if it is related not to the Avar-Persian siege of 626 or the assault by the Rus in 860, but to the Arab invasion of 717–718. A contemporary text mentions that as the Arab fleet was retreating through the Sea of Marmara, it was destroyed by a violent storm, 'so that their bodies could be seen piled up on all the islands, the beaches, and the breakwaters of ports and coves': V. Grumel, 'Homélie de saint Germain sur la délivrance de Constantinople' *RÉB* 16 (1958), 197.

The poem of Constantine Stilbes on the fire of 1197 is now published in *Constantinus Stilbes, Poemata*, ed. J. Diethart and W. Hörandner (Munich and Leipzig, 2005), 8–51.

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- AASS* *Acta sanctorum*
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An. Boll. *Analecta Bollandiana*
Byz. *Byzantion*
Byz. Forsch. *Byzantinische Forschungen*
BSI. *Byzantinoslavica*
BZ *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
CFHB *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*
DAI *De administrando Imperio*, ed. and tr. G. Moravcsik and R.J.H. Jenkins (Washington DC 1967)
De cer. *Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae*, ed. J.J. Reiske, I (Bonn 1829); Book I ed. and tr. A. Vogt, *Le livre des cérémonies*, 2 vols (2nd ed., Paris 1967)
DOP *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
EEBS Ἐπετηρὶς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν
Ep. Bibl. *Tò éparchikón biblíon*, ed. and tr. J. Koder, *Das Eparchenbuch Leons des Weisen*, CFHB 33 (Vienna 1991)
Hell. Ἑλληνικά
Iviron II *Actes d'Iviron*, II, ed. J. Lefort, N. Oikonomides, D. Papachryssanthou, in collaboration with V. Kravari and H. Métrévéli, *Archives de l'Athos* 16 (Paris 1990)
JÖB *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*
Lavra I *Actes de Lavra*, I, ed. P. Lemerle, A. Guillou, N. Svoronos and D. Papachryssanthou, *Archives de l'Athos* 5 (Paris 1970)
Mansi *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. J. D. Mansi

- MB* K. N. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη*, 7 vols (Venice–Paris 1872–90, repr. Athens 1972)
MGH Monumenta Germaniae Historica
MM F. Miklosich, J. Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii-aevi*, 6 vols (Vienna 1860–90, repr. Aalen 1964)
Neos Hell. *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, ed. Sp. Lampros
Not. CP *Notitia urbis constantinopolitanae*, ed. O. Seeck, *Notitia dignitatum* (Berlin 1876), pp. 229–243
Patmos *Βυζαντινά Ἐγγράφα τῆς Μονῆς Πάτμου*, I: *Αὐτοκρατορικά*, ed. E. Vranouse, II: *Δημοσίων Λειτουργῶν*, ed. M. Nystazopoulou–Pelekidou (Athens 1980)
PG J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Graeca*
PO Patrologia Orientalis
PPS Pravoslavnyj Palestinkij Sbornik
Ps.–Kod. Pseudo–Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, ed. and tr. J. Verpeaux (Paris 1966)
REArm. *Revue des Études Arméniennes*
REB *Revue des Études Byzantines*
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